University of Alberta

Towards Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Practice in Career Development

by

Mildred Cahill

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

In recent years a schism has emerged among theorists/researchers and practitioners within the career development field. The impetus for this research originates with the motivation to examine the differences between and among the various players. In contrast to the traditional format, each chapter of the thesis stands as an independent document. The theme of career development: bridging the gap between theory and practice is followed throughout. The thesis is comprised of four chapters. Chapter 1 provides the context for the research. Selected conventional and contemporary theories/approaches and models of career development are described in Chapter 2. The rural context and women's career development are addressed in Chapter 3. Finally, Chapter 4 describes new frameworks for career counseling. Although some credence may be given to the need for new theories/approaches to career development, there is a greater need to articulate new models for career counseling practice. Specifically, career development theorists and researchers must find ways to work with practitioners (a) to translate existent theories into practice; (b) to develop differential models of practice that are contextualized to meet the needs of the disparate target groups; (c) to explore partnerships and collaborative efforts to work together; (d) to seek new and innovative means to understand, reach, and assist client groups (e.g., exploiting the new technologies); and (e) to work together to influence the shaping of social policies that lead to improvement in the quality of their clients' lives.

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CHAPTER 1

THE CONTEXT FOR THE THESIS

Everything is embedded in (a) context(s). The context for this thesis has evolved from my personal philosophies and experiences. In this section I will communicate some of these experiences for the purpose of apprising the reader of the context for this thesis.

My work roles as high school teacher, school counselor, district co-ordinator of school counseling, and, later, university teacher/researcher have, undoubtedly, shaped my perceptions. As a school counselor in Newfoundland, I often queried why many young, rural high achievers from high school are encountering problems in their first year at college and/or university? Why were they leaving and returning? What happened when young people foreclosed on occupational options? What were the differences between undecided and indecisive students? Questions like these posed challenges for programming. In retrospect, as a practitioner, I became attuned to the differences in contexts (e.g., demographical, social, and economical).

It was, however, during my tenure as a university professor/researcher that the real questions emerged, or so I thought. Now as a counselor/ educator responsible for the education of counselors, I would undertake to study many of my questions. Career counseling had been a special interest in my earlier research focused on career development.

In 1990 I received federal research grants for the purpose of undertaking research and development in career development. The Creation and Mobilization of Career Counseling for Youth (CAMCRY), as the initiative was called, would provide me with an opportunity to study some of the

unanswered questions that I had from my experiences as practitioner (counselor) and counselor/educator. The CAMCRY was unique because, along with research, it had the added expectation of development of programs. All programs were developed through active partnerships and collaborative initiatives with practitioners in community agencies, professional associations, industry, and government.

At Memorial University of Newfoundland I co-ordinated the work of a group of colleagues at the Center for the Development of Distance Career Counselling. The Center had a mandate to develop, implement, and evaluate innovative distance career counseling programs for people in rural and remote areas. The specific objectives of the Center were (a) to develop and evaluate career counseling programs for people living in rural and remote areas; (b) to design, implement, and evaluate programs for specific target groups such as parents, single mothers, peer counselors, and youth generally; and (c) to determine the efficacy of different training programs for the career development of youth; (d) to evaluate the efficacy (effectiveness) of the distance delivery modality for group career counseling; and (e) to develop effective ways for the Center partners to collaborate in the development and provision of career counseling to people in rural and remote areas.

I will briefly describe two of these programs: (a) *Steady as We Go,* a career planning program for adults focusing on change and drifting patterns; and (b) *Shaping Your Future: A Career Planning Program for Women.* *Steady as We Go* is a program designed to help achieve a balance between change and continuity in the lives of people who move between jobs and/or training programs. Participants develop insight into their own patterns of drifting and focus on personal strengths in their lives. A central theme of

the program is reframing "change" as an opportunity for learning. *Shaping Your Future: A Career Planning Program for Women* is an activity-oriented, interactive group career counseling program. Participants explore such topics as interpersonal, organizational, and networking skills, leaving home (separation anxiety), adapting to change, future selves/possible selves, and making meaningful relationships. Women who had grown up in rural and/or remote communities and who are established in their occupations acted as mentors and role models for the participants. Occupations were representative; that is, entrepreneurial, technical, professional. Basically, the program facilitated the development of adaptive strategies for living meaningful, proactive lives. The content derived from feminist and social psychology, narrative, action research, and career development.

Both programs were designed for either the conventional face-to-face or the innovative distance delivery modalities. Both programs were multimedia in design with print, video, audio, and teleconferencing components. Case studies, an action inquiry approach, and both qualitative and quantitative procedures were utilized in the research. There were several delightful aspects to this research. Perhaps my greatest satisfaction came during both the data-gathering phase and the implementation stage.

At the same time as my involvement with CAMCRY, Newfoundland was undergoing a massive transition in its primary industry, cod fishing. The cod stocks had collapsed, and 30,000 Newfoundlanders were thrown out of their jobs. There were catastrophic consequences for the economy and the people.

In 1993 I worked with a team of people co-ordinated by Human Resources Canada (HRC) to develop training programs for counselors to work with the involuntarily unemployed fishers. I worked over a two-year

period (1993-1995) on various HRC projects focusing on the fishery (see Cahill & Martland, 1994, and Cahill & Martland, 1996, for more details). Finally, in 1996 I was invited by the provincial Department of Social Services to develop a program to train social service workers to assist their clients, many of whom were the unemployed fishers.

Perhaps a brief discussion of selected issues vis-à-vis career counseling may attune the reader to some of these challenges. The major economic upheaval within and among rural communities of Newfoundland and Labrador resulted in an equally significant social and emotional crisis. For centuries people in these rural and remote areas had to move from their homes to find temporary or permanent employment. In the past people chose to move. Now, however, migration has become a necessity because options for employment are virtually nonexistent because of the collapse of the fishery. Primary, secondary, and even tertiary industries are closing down, resulting in mass unemployment.

What happens when choices are limited or eliminated from people's lives? Many of the conventional paradigms of career counseling rely on priorizing and weighting an array of available alternatives. Serious gaps become apparent to many career counselors working in these communities when they cannot supply these alternatives.

Furthermore, career counseling has traditionally addressed the interests, attitudes, goals, and behaviors of individuals. Oftentimes, as Leong (1996) observed, the "dominant paradigms limit us because they are based on simple nondynamic and reductionistic models of human behavior" (p. 339). Undoubtedly, the approaches are inadequate when whole communities of people are forced to re-examine their careers, as was the case in Newfoundland.

What ensues when whole communities are threatened? Feelings rim the gamut from hopelessness, emptiness, isolation, insecurity, and disconnectedness to sometimes total denial of the reality confronting people. In more stable times it made sense to focus on individuals and their interests, values, and goals. In more uncertain, unstable, and even turbulent times collectivism and relatedness are often valued. Cahill and Martland (1996) characterized the predominant principle as "we" rather than "I" during such times of crisis. Further, Cahill and Martland noted that when people's livelihoods are threatened, many individuals may forego or compromise personal goals in the interests of the community. This position is consistent with Triandis' (1996) findings from his research on relatedness. A number of recent researchers (Blustein & Noumair, 1996; Herr, 1996a, 1996b; Tinsley, 1994) echoed sentiments affirming the relationship between cultural variables and individual behavior. Tinsley wrote: "Individuals from different cultural backgrounds can be expected to differ in the expectations, aspirations, and values they bring to the career development process" (p. 115). In the designing of career counseling interventions to address the multiple and varied needs of both the individual and the community, I became acutely aware not only of the complexity of the task, but also of how ill-equipped existing career development theories and models were. Using a very broad brush, I will attempt to sketch some of the issues and/or challenges. Again, I acknowledge the influence of my experiences and/or interpretations of both the career development field and the context concerned.

Notions of the self, for example, as a purely intrapsychic construct are challenged when difficult times prevail. The consequences for the individual's behavior are inextricably tied to those of the community, or the

collective. Herr (1996a), in describing the transactional nature of career guidance, stressed the interdependency of context and behavior. Communities are not homogeneous or static entities. Triandis' (1996) notions of "looseness" or "tightness" of the collective are informative in this regard. Cahill and Martland (1994) wrote

> The physical and social environments act on individuals and the individuals act on the environments. Communities are not static but change in response to the actions of the residents, who in turn are influenced by personal, local, and external situations and events. The level of attachment, the attributes that give place meaning, and the effects of place on career are all worthy of study. (p. 310)

Frequently, conflict and havoc characterize relationships during times of crises. The seeming quiet and stability of less turbulent periods give way to unease and instability.

There have been significant shifts, particularly in this last decade, in the beliefs and attitudes towards the meaning of work. In many of the dominant paradigms of career development, occupation assumes a centrality in the lives of people. The "work to live" versus "live to work" descriptors may lose their meaning when a crisis such as massive unemployment strikes. Should we examine more closely those nonoccupational dimensions of the person's behavior?

What happens to decision-making strategies when the structure of opportunity is limited? Delineating, priorizing, and choosing options may take on a different form. Is commitment an appropriate construct for career maturity? What is career maturity? Career maturity perhaps might be seen within the context of space and time because we do not live in a homogeneous or static environment. When flexibility in the work environment is jeopardized, what effect does this have on the individual's commitment within the occupation? Perhaps we ought to study strategies

(e.g., the role of compromise) for achieving goals through diverse activities/ roles, both occupational and nonoccupational. Undoubtedly, this may lead to lower levels of work salience and commitment as other activities/ situations take on more importance.

Social values change over time; for example, the rise of environmentalism as an ethic. Over the years and circumstances, changes are registered in the perceptions of desirability/prestige of certain occupations and lifestyles. Values ought to be identified and measured in nonjudgmental ways. Values may be based in geography, demographics, and time. Values no doubt influence aspirations and choices. There is an increasing need to measure context in which people function and the values of the society in which they live. Tailoring programs involves a flexibility to account for changing values.

Formal work, especially in rural contexts, is diminishing. Nonmarket labor, including production for self and bartering, ought to be included in the definition of work (Cahill & Martland, 1993). Should not the stability and characteristics of the structure of opportunity be considered in identifying criteria for career maturity? Multitracking rather than specialization has become the norm. Flexibility rather than commitment to one occupation has become the valued strategy.

The traditional models of decision making emphasized rationality. Gelatt's (1989, 1995) later work on irrational, intuitive, and more chaotic decision making may be more pertinent in light of the rural context.

We ought to examine people's environmental preferences (e.g., setting in which they want to, or have to, live) and social preferences (e.g., shared values about pace of life, composition of neighborhood values), and the roles that they play in career development. Quality of life is defined differentially,

and people in rural communities often devalue prestige and money while valuing other attributes.

How is *success* defined? Who defines it? Women typically see themselves in relationship to others (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991). Does demanding independence, for instance, devalue the importance of relationships among women? Authority has not been traditionally valued highly by most women, yet classifications of occupations consistently give higher prestige to positions of authority (e.g., Macnab, Fitzsimmons, Casserly, 1987; Madill, Brintnell, Macnab, Stewin, & Fitzsimmons, 1988). Far too often the dominant career development paradigms could be interpreted as guilty of oversimplification of the world of work and do not allow for different contexts.

It was not only the program context, but also the delivery of service that required innovation. Parallel with work on career development for people in rural contexts was research on the use of distance technologies (Cahill & Martland, 1995). Techniques in providing career education programs by distance were developed in response to the problem of serving a widely dispersed population. The importance of distance communications to creating new options for people in rural communities became apparent. The technologies were significant instruments in bringing rural/remote people of different communities together. The traditional method of delivery by travelling to numerous communities is an inefficient use of the counselor's time. The organizational effort needed to arrange travel schedules also reduces the effectiveness of the service. Effectiveness depends on the prompt response to demands as they arise, and counselors can respond more quickly through the available telecommunications systems.

It appears from preliminary studies (see Cahill & Martland, 1995) that distance delivery is an effective and efficient means of serving the needs of people in the more rural areas. The initial studies were conducted utilizing interactive audio teleconferencing with small (N = 15) groups of people living in rural and remote areas. Career counseling programs were administered through distance career counseling. Communities could now move from a deficit stance to a more empowered and enabling position (Cahill & Martland, 1995). Rural people could be winning shareholders in the constructive exploitation of the technologies. Today's communication technologies could link people in the most isolated communities to the same sources of information, services, and educational programs that residents of the more populous centers took for granted (Cahill & Martland, 1995). These open discourses via the technology could assist communities in conflict resolution, shared visions, and accessibility of information. The rate of intercommunity collaboration could increase.

These new developments did not come to fruition easily. For example, counselors needed new competencies to work with people: consensus building, problem solving, and decision making. Cahill and Martland (1996) began preliminary work on a community model of career counseling by adapting Amundson's (1989) model of individual counseling. This is work currently in progress.

My community-based work led me to partnerships with community residents and their leaders. Career counseling programs were tailored to a wide range of rural residents with varying needs and have been implemented in collaboration with a number of agencies. The motivation was to design programs reflecting rural perspectives, philosophies, and values,

incorporating multiple strategies from the literature (both on career development and outside the field).

To summarize, the brief experiences described here were intended to serve as a context for the following papers in this thesis. Out of these personal experiences arose some important questions for study in career development and career counseling. It seems critical to explore different content and delivery modalities for career counseling interventions. As the millennium draws near, it seems imperative that we investigate dynamic new ways of serving clients in their diverse contexts.

Format of the Thesis

In contrast to the traditional format, each chapter of the thesis stands as an independent document. The theme of career development: bridging the gap between theory and practice is followed throughout. The thesis is composed of four chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction describing the context of the research. Chapter 2 presents an analytical discussion of career development theories ranging from selective, significant, traditional theories to the more postmodern theories. Chapter 3 presents a discussion of the schism between the theory and practice of career development; special issues relating to the career development of women and rural populations are discussed. Chapter 4 proposes (a) new framework(s) for career counseling compiled following a synthesis of the career development literature and based on key concepts derived from the investigator's 10 years of research and development work.

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CHAPTER 2

THEORIES/APPROACHES AND MODELS: PAST AND PRESENT

For more than a decade career development researchers and theorists (Herr & Cramer, 1996; Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996; Savickas & Walsh, 1996) have expounded on the dramatic changes that have occurred and continue to occur in the study of career development. Empirical sophistication has resulted in a wealth of instrumentation and sampling practices. The field has been enriched by contributions from an ever-widening group of researchers and theorists from such areas as sociology, human resources and organizational management, and diverse domains of psychology. Despite this voluminous research in career development, there are increasing pleas for newer paradigms for the integration of theory and practice (Herr, 1996a, 1996b; Savickas & Walsh, 1996).

The objectives of this chapter are (a) to review selected traditional theories/approaches of career development, (b) to explore selected contemporary models for the study of career development, and (c) to examine selected concepts/constructs in career development theory and practice.

The chapter is divided into sections. The first section is a general discussion on the role of theory. This section is followed by a discussion of the question "Why study career theory?" The middle sections of the chapter present a review of the conventional theories/approaches, followed by an examination of the more contemporary models. Finally, the chapter ends with a general discussion of selected constructs and concepts in the field.

Role of Theories/Approaches and Models

Most prolific scholars in the field (e.g., Chartrand, 1996; Herr & Cramer, 1996; Krumboltz, 1996; Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996; Savickas & Walsh, 1996; Subich, 1996) have addressed definitions, roles and functions of theories/approaches, and/or models. More often than not, the descriptors *theory/approach* and *model* have been interchanged in the literature. In the interest of brevity, select points will be reviewed here.

Reed (1984) defined a *model* as "a device for generating ideas, for guiding conceptualization and generating explanation" (p. 1). Perhaps Apostel's (1962; cited in Reed, 1984) descriptions of the functions of models may be helpful:

1. Explain a domain of facts for which no theory has been developed (theory formation).
2. Simplify the assumptions of a theory in which the formulation is too difficult to use in basic hypotheses (simplification).
3. Provide an interpretation of two existing theories so their similarities can be understood (reduction).
4. Fill in a missing part of an incomplete theory (extension).
5. Compare a newer, more specific theory to an older, more general theory (adequation).
6. Yield explanations about facts within an existing theory (explanation).
7. Act as a practical size to provide information relative to a theory concerning a very large or small object (concretization).
8. Function as a representation of visualization of the theory (globalization).
9. Bridge the gap between theoretical concepts and observational levels by illustrating the relationship between the two (action and experimentation). (p. 2)

Reed (1984) cautioned that models are culture bound. Their utility may be found in suggesting ideas or methodologies, providing alternatives, and analyzing situations. However, Reed indicated that there were some drawbacks to models, including "overgeneralization, logic fallacy, incorrect linkage, inaccurate representation, and invalid construction" (p. 4).

Reed (1984) defined a *theory* as "a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions (assumptions) that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena" (p. 5). In addressing the relation between theory and models, Reed (1984) asserted that models are not theories:

> Models may describe, generate ideas, suggest explanations, interpretations, or methodologies but do not meet the criteria of a theory. The function of a theory is to provide an explanation and assert that a truth actually exists. Thus, a model does not fit the requirements of a theory. Rather, a theory makes use of a model as a basis for explanation to bridge one theory to another or to describe a component within a theory. (p. 7)

Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) noted that theory has its roots in the physical sciences. As such, theories are grounded in empiricism. A good theory, according to Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996), clarifies events and leads to further predictions. Two types of explanation exist:

> Reductive explanation describes the functional role of phenomena at a level of description more fundamental than observation of the phenomena themselves would permit. Explaining human behavior in terms of physiological processes is an example of reductive explanation. Constructive explanation, on the other hand, consists of the description of phenomena in terms of constructs or hypotheses. The intervening variables used to account for an apparent relationship between two sets of events are examples of constructive explanation. In the end, both types of explanation come down to description at some level. It is in the adequacy and generality of the description that theories may differ. (p. 3)

Krumboltz (1994) defined a theory as "a picture, an image, a description, a representation of reality. It is not reality itself" (p. 12). Further, Krumboltz (1996; cited in Savickas & Walsh, 1996) noted that a theory helps us see the big picture:

> A good theory is a simplified representation of reality, identifying relationships among the most crucial characteristics and ignoring the rest. . . . A good theory should be a useful representation of some parts of reality, just as a map needs to represent those parts of the topography that will be useful to the map reader. Both a

> map and a theory deliberately oversimplify reality but still enable their respective users to answer a multitude of specific questions. (p. 56)

Finally, Chartrand's (1996) discussion on the relationship between a theory and a model is relevant. A theory is "a heuristic, judged by the canons of science, that typically explains an unfolding process, whereas a model is a descriptive guide, often for change, and is judged by pragmatic outcomes" (p. 121). In essence, then, a theory describes universal behavior, and a model addresses more specific behavior (Chartrand, 1996).

Why Study Career Development Theory?

According to McDaniels and Gysbers (1992), theories provide the lens through which client behavior is examined to help form hypotheses about the meanings of behavior. Thus, career development theory helps in the understanding and response to clients' goals and/or problems. McDaniels and Gysbers asserted that both career development and human development theories are essential to understanding clients' behavior.

Collin (1996a) reviewed the literature depicting growing criticism around the relationship between theory and practice. Practitioners question "whether current theories and research are able to inform practice and whether practice is allowed to inform theory" (Subich & Taylor, 1994; cited in Collin, 1996a, p. 174). Killeen and Watts (1983) reported ambivalent feelings ranging from complete satisfaction to downright hostility on the applicability of theory to practice.

In a recent book entitled *Handbook of Career Counseling Theory and Practice,* Savickas and Walsh (1996) accused theorists/researchers and practitioners of ignoring each other's concerns and dismissing the challenging realities confronting clients. Perhaps reference to Fitzgerald and

Betz (1994; cited in Savickas & Walsh, 1996) may help to summarize the sources of disenchantment and scepticism among practitioners about the value of theory: "There is a general lack of utility of major career theories to large segments of the population" (p. 103). They maintained that this is because of the fact that (a) the concept of career development may not be a meaningful concept in the lives of the majority of the population, (b) research on career theories examines the smallest segment of the population, and (c) theories do not systematically attend to the structural and cultural factors in conditioning individual vocational behavior (Savickas & Walsh, 1996).

All would agree that this is a particularly sensitive time to attempt resolution of a debate that, according to Savickas and Walsh (1996), is adding to a growing schism among theorists/researchers and practitioners. Parenthetically, to understand better the relationship between theory and practice, one should examine the differences between them and among the researchers, theorists, and practitioners. Collin (1996b) proposed a postmodern "both/and" approach rather than the "either/or" approach to the modification of existing relationships.

The impetus for my research originates with the motivation to examine the differences between and among theorists/researchers and practitioners. At the same time, it is imperative to understand the origins of the more positivistic theories/approaches of career development and to progress toward the more possibilicism of the postmodern era. In the next section this need to re-examine key concepts of the positivistic theories/approaches will be addressed.

Conventional Approaches/Theories

Theories and approaches to career development have been classified in many ways (Herr & Cramer, 1996; Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996; Savickas & Walsh, 1996). Herr and Cramer presented these groupings as trait-and-factor, actuarial, or matching approaches; decision theory; situational, sociological, and contextual approaches; psychological approaches; and developmental approaches. These groupings have been used to summarize career development theory as follows:

Trait-and-Factor/Actuarial/Matching Approaches

The oldest and likely the initial approach to career development was the trait-and-factor approach, or as it is often called, the actuarial or matching approach. Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) credited the underlying tenets of trait-and-factor approaches to Parsons (1909), Hull (1928), and Kitson (1925). This model has grown significantly over the years and has given rise to other approaches, such as person-environment approaches.

A summary of Herr and Cramer's (1996) review of these approaches may suffice to inform the reader of the basic tenets of the trait-and-factor approaches. The school of applied psychology and individual differences form the genesis and the roots of these approaches. Basically, trait-and-factor approaches focus on the difference among people within occupational fields. The approaches are descriptive of influences on choice (Herr & Cramer, 1996, p. 177).

Herr and Cramer (1996) summarized Brown's (1984) four basic principles of these approaches:

1. Each individual has a unique set of traits that can be measured reliably and validly.
2. Occupations require that workers possess certain traits for success, although a worker with a rather wide range of characteristics can be successful in a given job.
3. The choice of an occupation is a rather straightforward process, and matching is possible.
4. The closer the match between personal characteristics and job requirements, the greater the likelihood for success (productivity and satisfaction). (Brown, 1984; cited in Herr & Cramer, 1996, p. 178)

No doubt, the trait-and-factor approaches have been oversimplified by both theorists and practitioners. A three-step process typifies this simple approach: (a) knowledge of self, (b) knowledge of the world of work, and (c) matching a person with (an) occupation(s). This rather narrow perspective of career development has become allied with the trait-and-factor approaches. Consequently, the approaches have been classified as "test 'em and tell 'em" approaches. This label arises out of a preoccupation with description and diagnosis of individual traits and characteristics. Proponents of these approaches have contributed to our knowledge of individual differences and predictor variables.

The trait-and-factor approaches have resulted in a plethora of psychological instruments measuring patterns of traits and characteristics, such as interests, values, aptitudes, perceptions, attitudes, abilities, needs, and aspirations. Several newer approaches (e.g., Dawis & Loftquist, 1984; Holland, 1973, 1985) were derived from the seeds of the trait-and-factor approaches. However, these have liberated the trait-and-factor from a static, time-bound, simplistic matching dimension and allowed a more dynamic, timeless, complex, and descriptive dimension to evolve. Despite this observation, Herr and Cramer (1996) noted that the approaches "describe relationships between variables and choices, but do not explain how such variables develop" (p. 185).

Decision Theory

There were many versions of decision theory (Clarke, Gelatt, & Levine, 1965; Hilton, 1962; Kalder & Zytowski, 1969; Katz, 1969; Lawler, 1973; Vroom, 1964). Two brief descriptions are that, essentially, some theories are descriptive in that they describe how people make decisions, and some are prescriptive and address how to make better, more effective decisions.

Herr and Cramer (1996) pointed to the economic origins of decision theory:

> Based on Keynesian economic theory, . . . one chooses a career goal or an occupation that will maximize gain and minimize loss. . . . A given occupation or career pathway might be considered as a means of achieving certain possibilities—for example, greater prestige, security, social mobility, or a spouse—when compared to another course of action. Implicit in such an approach is the expectation that the individual can be assisted to predict the outcomes of each alternative and the probability of such outcomes. The assumption is that the person will then choose the one that promises the most reward for his or her investment (such as time, tuition, union dues, delayed gratification) with the least possibility of failure. (p. 185)

Options, or alternatives, are necessary for choice to take place. Priorizing alternatives and weighting probabilities provide substance and content for decision-making paradigms. Predicting outcomes and estimating the probabilities of occurrence result in successful outcomes. Decision-making strategies may be required through learning.

Katz (1969) developed a prescriptive model of decision making. He theorized that objective information is important in the process. However, he also emphasized the important role that values play in generating alternatives, weighting each alternative, and discriminating within and between the alternatives; hence the descriptor *expected value.*

Clarke et al. (1965), Kaldor and Zytowski (1969), and Tiedeman (1961) generated descriptive models of decision making. Perhaps a brief look at

Gelatt's (1962) model is in order. Gelatt proposed that the individual uses both a predictive system and a value system to arrive at the decision point. Herr and Cramer (1996) summarized this stage model:

> *Information about alternative action:* Before deciding what to do, a person needs to know what alternative courses of action are possible.
> *Information about possible outcomes:* The person needs to know to what results the alternative actions available are likely to lead.
> *Information about probabilities linking actions to outcomes:* How likely are alternative actions to lead to different outcomes? What are the probabilities—high, medium, low—of certain results occurring from different actions?
> *Information about preferences for the various outcomes:* The person needs to consider the values he or she wishes to apply to different outcomes. (pp. 189-190)

All in all, the decision-making approaches have had a significant impact in career development. For a more detailed analysis of decision theory, see Herr and Cramer (1996) or Jepsen and Dilley (1974).

Situational, Sociological, and Contextual Approaches

A number of theorists and researchers have focused on the social and physical environments and the implications for career development. Typically, sociologists have studied this domain, whereas psychologists have focused on the more intrapsychic factors. Initially, European career theorists and researchers have added to the literature in this area, whereas North Americans have contributed in the psychological domain. Today, however, many theories have evolved and include both the intrapsychic and contextual variables.

Roberts (1977), a British sociologist, described the "structure of opportunity," referring to the economic context. Roberts advised career counselors to analyze the client's social-structure factors when helping him

or her to choose occupations. This point of view is somewhat typical of those who hold the sociological or situational perspective.

Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg (1986) stressed the dynamic interaction of sociological or situational variables within the environment and the individual's intrapsychic factors:

> Dynamic interaction means that the context and organism are inextricably embedded in each other, that the context consists of multiple levels changing interdependently across time, and that because organisms influence the contexts that influence them, they are to play an active role in their own developments. (p. 37)

Vondracek et al.'s (1986) lifespan view of career development is a composite of two perspectives: embeddedness and dynamic interaction. These two constructs refer to the "plasticity of human development," which describes "how a change in one life sphere affects all other life spheres" (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 159). They articulate a "goodness-of-fit model of person-context relations," which includes "multiple levels of behavior and events that are interdependent and that change over time" (p. 159).

Blustein and Noumair (1996) advanced a contextual framework for their former self and identity model. They described this new *embeddedness* perspective as a way to encompass both the relational and the cultural influences of career development. It underscores an interdependence between individuals and their psychological, social, historical, and cultural contexts. Drawing on the work of researchers such as Vondracek et al. (1986) and lifespan psychology, Blustein and Noumair shared the "commitment to nest psychological constructs into a broad context that embraces social, cultural, historical, intraindividual, and organizational influences" (p. 437). Inherent in this model of career counseling is the belief that contemporary and historical familial factors and sociocultural factors

"are not just additive, but have a reciprocal influence on other aspects of self and identity" (p. 439).

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *ecological* model is another example of the interaction and interdependence of person and environment. He referred to this as the *principle of interconnectedness.* Herr and Cramer (1996) paraphrased Bronfenbrenner's principle as that which "envisions the environment as being composed of several interrelated systems that affect each other and individual psychological development" (p. 202). Bronfenbrenner offered four ecological structures to define the environment:

1. In the *microsystem,* the more intimate aspects of the individual's development in the family, in the school, or in the workplace occur; it is composed of the interpersonal relationships, goal-directed molar activities, and system-defined roles and expectations a person experiences in a given setting such as a family or school.
2. The *mesosystem* links together the major microsystems, the child's family and school, the family and workplace expectations at a particular point in the parent's life.
3. The *exosystem* includes indirect effects on a person from a spouse's or parent's microsystems; for example, the workplace.
4. The *macrosystem* includes the major cultural-level, national-level, societal-level belief system, ideologies, and more about sex roles, personality models to be emulated, and similar social metaphors (Vaizey & Clark, 1976) that organize majority or dominant visions of appropriate behavior and sanctions on it. (Herr & Cramer, 1996, p. 202)

These are some representative viewpoints of the situational, sociological, and contextual approaches. These approaches, however, have witnessed a confluence of research over the past decade and continue to do so.

Psychological Approaches

A varied and rich array of perspectives compile the psychological approaches. The spectrum ranges from the psychodynamic (e.g,. Bordin, Nachmann, & Segal, 1963), personality theory (Adler, 1927), analytical psychology (Jung, 1916), needs and psychoanalytic psychology (Roe, 1953), to the very popular personality-needs theory of Holland (1973). In the interests of brevity, only Roe's theory will be discussed.

Roe's (1953) theory is a composite of needs-drive theory and personality theory. Building on the earlier work of Murphy (1947) and Maslow (1954), Roe articulated a hierarchical model of career development whereby individuals would be motivated to meet their needs. Occupations would by their very nature satisfy the priorized and differential needs of people. Early childhood experiences, need motivations, and one's genetic propensity interplay to affect one's career choice.

Roe (1953) described parent-child interactions and summarized relationships as falling into one of three categories: overprotection and/or overdemanding behavior, avoidance of the child or emotional rejection, and acceptance of the child or loving behavior. These relationships shape the needs that the child develops. Herr and Cramer (1996) presented Roe's explanation of vocational interests:

> 1. Career directions are first determined by "the patterning of early satisfactions and frustrations." . . .
> 2. The modes and degrees of need satisfaction will determine which needs will become the strongest motivations (Roe & Siegelman, 1964, p. 5). (Herr & Cramer, 1996, p. 217)

Aside from Roe's (1953) description of different parenting styles and their influence on the needs, interests, and occupational preferences of clients, she also developed an occupational classification system. The world of work was described as a two-dimensional system, consisting of eight

fields and six levels. The eight fields are service, business, organization, technology, outdoor, science, general cultural, and arts and entertainment. These fields or types of work were arranged along a continuum based on the degree of orientation toward persons required by those in that occupation. For example, service fields are generally person oriented and include such occupations as counseling, teaching, and social work. Roe's levels refer to the abilities and skills or competencies required for the occupation. These levels include professional and managerial I and II; semiprofessional, skilled small business; semiskilled; and unskilled. One's level of motivation and genetic factors (e.g., intelligence) determine the level sought. Counseling is aimed at matching individuals with occupations.

Although generalizability and validity questions were often raised on some of Roe's (1953) constructs, this approach has contributed significantly to the field of career development.

Development Approaches

The developmental approaches to career development may be characterized as process approaches. According to the developmentalists, career development is a developmental process throughout the lifespan. Instead of focusing on matching (as Holland, 1973, and Roe, 1953, have done), developmentalists have emphasized individual characteristics (how they develop and change over time) and how to make effective decisions. There were many developmentalists (Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951), but perhaps the most prominent was Super (1980). A brief summary of selected aspects of his approach follows.

Many influences are evident in Super's (1980) approach to career development; notably, the influences of Bordin (1943; cited in Osipow &

Fitzgerald, 1996) and Buehler (1933; cited in Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996). Bordin proposed "the notion that responses to vocational-interest inventories represent an individual's projection of self-concept in terms of stereotypes held about occupations" (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 110). This formed the origin of Super's self-concept approach. Buehler's work in developmental psychology on stages was also evidenced in Super's work. Super adopted Buehler's conception of life stages and built his stage-based theory. Super deliberately built on the important work of others. He also utilized previous and current knowledge of individual differences from differential psychology. Consequently, key concepts/assumptions from self-concept theory, differential psychology, and developmental psychology were incorporated in Super's approach.

Interestingly, Super (1980) differentiated what he termed "the psychology of occupations," or the matching of a person with an occupation for life from the "psychology of careers," a human developmental, evolving process. Differential psychology guides the psychology of occupations, whereas developmental psychology guides the psychology of careers.

From developmental psychology, Super (1980) integrated career patterns into his theory, emphasizing that career choice was not a one-shot decision usually taken during adolescence; "the life cycle imposes different vocational tasks on people at various times of their lives. . . . To fully comprehend a person's vocational life, the whole cycle must be observed" (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 112). Following this line of thought, Super generated 10 propositions that underlie this theory, which were increased to 14 in 1990:

1. Individuals differ in their abilities, personalities, needs, values, traits, self-concepts and aptitudes.
2. Individuals may all be matched in their characteristics for a number of occupations.
3. The ability level of occupations vary to match individual levels of ability and personality.
4. Self-concept is a relatively stable concept which endures from adolescence; however, vocational preferences, competencies and self-concepts change with time and experience.
5. The process of change may be summed up in a series of life stages characterized as a sequence of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance and decline, and these stages may, in turn, be subdivided into (a) fantasy, tentative and realistic phases of the exploratory stage, and (b) the trial and stable phases of the establishment stage.
6. The nature of the career pattern—that is, the occupational level attained and the sequence, frequency and duration of trial and stable jobs—is determined by the individual's parental socioeconomic level, mental ability, skills education, personality characteristics, career maturity and opportunities to which he or she is exposed.
7. Success in coping with the demands of the environment and of the organism in the context at any given life-career stage depends on the readiness of the individual to cope with these demands (that is, on his or her career maturity). Career maturity is a constellation of physical, psychological and social characteristics; psychologically, it is both cognitive and affective.
8. Career maturity is a hypothetical construct. Its operational definition is perhaps as difficult to formulate as is that of intelligence, but its history is much briefer and its achievements even less definite.
9. Development through the life stages can be guided, partly by facilitating the maturing of abilities and interests and partly by aiding in reality testing and in the development of self-concepts.
10. The process of career development is essentially that of developing and implementing occupational self-concepts. It is synthesizing and compromising process in which the self-concept is a product of the interaction of inherited aptitudes, physical makeup, opportunity to observe and play various roles and evaluation of the extent to which the results of role playing meet with the approval of superiors and fellows (interactive learning).
11. The process of synthesis of or compromise between individual and social factors, between self-concepts and reality, is one of role playing and of learning from feedback, whether the role is played in fantasy, in the counseling interview, or in such real-life activities as classes, clubs, part-time work and entry jobs.
12. Work and life satisfactions depend upon the extent to which the individual finds adequate outlets for his/her

interests, personality traits, and values; they depend upon his/her establishment in a type of work, a work situation, and a way of life in which he/she plays the kind of role which his/her growth and exploratory experience have led him/her to consider congenial and appropriate.

13. The degree of satisfaction people attain from work is proportional to the degree to which they have been able to implement self-concepts.
14. Work and occupation provide a focus for personality organization for most men and women, although for some persons this focus is peripheral, incidental, or even nonexistent. Then other foci, such as leisure activities and homemaking, may be central. (Super, 1990, p. 199)

Super's (1985) theory included five stages: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline. He broadly defined career as "the sequence of things that a person does during the course of a lifetime, . . . all the positions that a person occupies" (Super, 1984, p. 1). Life roles form the structure and substance of careers. These life roles include child, student, leisurite, worker, citizen, spouse, homemaker, parent, and pensioner. Roles wax and wane through life, depending on life tasks, life stages, and development.

Super (1985) defined *career maturity* as "readiness to cope with the developmental tasks appropriate to one's life stage" (p. 8), a fluid, flexible construct. Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) observed that Super "defined the concept normatively, in terms of the congruence between an individual's vocational behavior and the expected vocational behavior at that age. The closer the correspondence between the two, the greater the individual's vocational maturity" (p. 115).

Using the term *career adaptability,* Super (1985) referred to an individual's ability to cope with change. He noted that a set of characteristics were incorporated in adaptability: planfulness, exploration, information, decision making, and reality orientation. Individuals with these characteristics are adaptable. Career adjustment subsequently is the result

of career adaptability. Hence, career counseling ought to focus on clients' career adaptability and ways of procuring career adjustment.

One other construct, *work salience,* is significant to mention. Super (1985) used this construct to refer to the significance of work within an individual's life. His research showed that work is differentially perceived in value and degree.

Overall, Super has been one of, if not the most prominent theorist/ researcher to date. His career spanned over six decades, and the volume of data is equally outstanding. Many of his constructs and concepts guide the study and practice of both career development and career counseling.

Contemporary Models of Career Development

Although the conventional theories/approaches and models continue to guide career development research and practice, voids have arisen in the field as new developments have occurred. Undoubtedly, the context has altered significantly. Broadly speaking, we have now moved into a postindustrial or postmodern era. Radical shifts in architecture, literature, philosophy, media, art, and culture have ensued. As a result, serious questions and criticisms have arisen around principles of universalism, rationality, and technocraticism (Harvey, 1989). These principles are being replaced by the new descriptors of postmodern thought: subjectivity, intuition, perspectivity, and contextualism.

The implications of the shift in thinking from positivism to possibilicism for new paradigms of development have been significant. A number of combinations and permutations of theoretical models and frameworks have emerged. Peavy (1992) summarized some of those paradigms:

> Contributions to the new paradigm for inquiry and practice in social life are being made under the banners of critical theory (Popkewitz, 1984); post-positivism (Popper & Eccles, 1977); hermeneutics (Caputo, 1987; Packer & Addiston, 1989); radical constructivism (Von Glasersfeld, 1984); philosophical anthropology (Taylor, 1985); feminist scholarship (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986); social constructionism (Gergen, 1985); human science (Aanstoos, 1985); and existential phenomenology (Misgeld, 1983), just to mention a few. (Peavy, 1992, p. 217)

This web of ideas, beliefs, and methods from the diverse fields paralleled each other and resulted in a radical shift in perspective. The ramifications of this radical shift are still being felt. Brennan (1995) described the two schools of thought that evolved: (a) in a pessimistic view, relying on the methodology of deconstruction, the practice of intellectually disassembling any linguistic construction; and (b) a transitionalist or conversationalist view, a nonhierarchical process whereby conceptualization of knowledge is in a state of transition, evolving. This latter view holds "no formulations, no absolutes" (p. 101). Knowledge is seen as a process, relatively rather than absolutely true. The application to psychology in general and counseling psychology in particular has been a focus for the past couple of decades.

One theme that has been reiterated is that of interpretation of meaning, values, and truth. The meaning of human action, for example, has been a subject for inquiry by many philosophers and researchers (Heidegger, 1962; Patton, 1989; Polkinghorne, 1984). According to the hermeneutic approach, interpretation of meaning comes from the "active" mind. Within such thinking, the mind is viewed "as a constructive agent—inputting meaning to one's actions and interactions" (Jackson & Patton, 1992, p. 202). Further, Jackson and Patton believed that the process of valuing is

"a process of making meaning in one's life. Likewise, counseling itself can be seen as an exercise in meaning making" (p. 202).

A corresponding need arose in the field to develop better methodologies and tools to measure and evaluate successes. The conventional measurement instrumentation and data-gathering mechanisms were proving to be inadequate in the pursuit of the new questions. Qualitative methodologies, narratives, analogues, case studies, and other contextual, complex, and diverse experimental measures were utilized. Endorsement of all of those innovations is gradual, but progress is continuing to be made. Young and Borgen (1990) discussed alternate methodologies and their role in the field today; they reminded us that the traditional methodologies will remain and carry an important function.

Herr and Cramer (1996) gave a review of these alternative approaches and their researchers:

> Bujold has described a biographical-hermeneutical perspective; Cochran (1990) uses narrative forms as one of the major paradigms for career research; Polkinghorne (1990) and Valach (1990) use action theory, a narrative attempt to describe the human capacity to choose freely among alternatives in the context of other life choices and events. These approaches variously use autobiography, biography, life histories, psychobiography, life narratives, story or drama, ecological approaches, self-confrontational interviews, and action analyses as career research methods. (p. 697)

Recently, Young and Valach (1996) wrote that these approaches—"narrative, ecological, hermeneutical, and constructionist—have coalesced in an action theoretical *[sic]* approach" (p. 363). They proceed to describe the action approach as one in progress, not totally arrived.

The next section will begin with an overview of a constructivist model of career counseling. Following this brief discussion, some basic constructs and concepts in action theory will be reviewed. Finally, some new

developments on decision making from chaos theory will be sketched vis-à-vis Gelatt's model.

A Constructivist Model for Career Counseling

Constructivism has its foundations in the schools of thought referred to in the preceding section. It is a philosophical framework for guiding practice. In the interest of brevity, and to ensure an accurate portrayal of this model, Peavy's (1996a) description will be quoted here. The following are the tenets of constructivist career counseling, according to Peavy (1996b):

1. An outstanding characteristic of individuals is their ability and need to "make meaning."
2. An individual's life is more like a story or work of art than a "profile" of traits or set of scores.
3. The counsellor and client are allies or co-constructors of the client's world, plans and coping strategies.
4. The self is constituted by self-organizing processes and is purposeful and proactive.
5. There are as many different "realities" as there are people—although some realities are more viable and preferable to others. Each person sees the world through his or her particular lens and speaks to the world through his or her unique voice. It is often up to the counsellor and client to define and experiment with different alternatives and examine the consequences of either staying with a certain reality or moving to another.
6. The constructivist career counsellor tries to work directly with the client's own perceptions and personal meanings—often given in the form of stories, metaphors, narratives and dialogue. The assumption here is that the material of one's own life is more relevant to the formation of career choices and occupational planning than the scores on interest, personality and aptitude tests.
7. The constructivist career counsellor is receptive to a range of client contacts: one-to-one counselling, group meetings, letters and autobiographical writing and use of electronic communications such as telephone and computerized communication. In all instances, the emphasis is upon working together, co-constructing and empowerment of the client.
8. As with most other forms of counselling and therapy, the pre-condition for almost all other counselling work is that the client feel emotionally safe in the counselling context

and feel supported to express feelings in that context. As Guidano (1991) puts it, "No change seems possible without emotions. . . . The structure and quality of change depend to a large extent on the level and quality of self-awareness . . ." (pp. 96-97).

9. The self is a self-reflexive construction, hence reflection is an essential procedure in constructivist-oriented career counselling. Meaningful activity, reflection and self-articulation are three processes which constructivist counselling seeks to promote and support.
10. From a constructivist perspective, "career" is just one theme of a person's self-project. The individual should be approached as a "whole" being and not simply as a decider or a careerist. One way to define career counselling from this perspective is as a general methodology for life planning. (p. 10)

Undoubtedly, definite differences emerge from constructivist career counseling and the traditional paradigms of career counseling. Young and Valach (1996) focused on concepts and constructs in action theory. As mentioned earlier, action theory is the composite of many other approaches (e.g., narrative, contextual). The next section will present some of these basic constructs and concepts.

Basic Constructs and Concepts in Action Theory

The works of Cochran (1990, 1994); Savickas (1991, 1995); Young and Valach (1996); Young, Valach, Dillabough, Dover, and Matthes (1994); Collin and Young (1986, 1992), and Collin (1996a, 1996b) will be utilized in summarizing advances in this area. The concept of career as "action" has been a focus of the action theorists (e.g, Cochran, 1994; Young & Valach, 1996). Cochran (1994) described an action as

> grounded in a *motive* that explains why someone acted, implies a *goal* toward which a person acts, takes place in practical *contexts* within which circumstances can facilitate or hinder action, is performed with *others* who can help or hinder, and yields an *outcome* that is understood as a change in fortune toward or away from happiness. Last, an action is performed by an *agent;* it is recognized as the agent's deed, implying ownership or responsibility. . . . Action requires *means,* the adequacy of which

> bears on the outcome. Circumstances call for *planning* to mobilize resources and overcome obstacles. Responsibility suggests *choice,* and so on. (pp. 205-206)

Cochran (1994) described career as "life plot," "life project," or "life theme." Hence, he articulated concepts of the "subjective career" versus the "objective career." Incidentally, Collin and Watts (1996) described the "bureaucratic" notions of career in much the same manner as Cochran. The thesis that career is action and is subjective pervades action theory.

Young and Valach (1996), in an effort to address the role of interpretation and subjective meaning in the action theoretical perspective, contended that

> first, people interpret their own and others' behavior as actions; that is, for the most part, behavior is seen as intentional and goal-directed; second, people frequently interpret ongoing action as part of some superordinate process such as career; and third, people frequently reinterpret their past actions and career in terms of present action, and possibly career, thus establishing the relevance of career and similar constructs. (p. 367)

In line with Cochran (1990, 1994), Young and Valach (1996) linked language and narrative to interpretation. Narrative is the instrument that helps make sense out of life, bringing coherence and continuity. They serve to make sense of daily events. As sequences of actions and events are "narrativized," people construct career, and career contributes to the content of an account that justifies and renders action intelligible and makes future actions possible" (p. 368).

The person becomes an *agent* in his or her own career. An agent is "one who makes things happen, brings things about" (Cochran, 1994, p. 209). To become an agent, a person must subsequently develop characteristics that enable one to "adopt an agentic role" (p. 209). These characteristics include

> internal locus of causality (de Charms, 1976), purposefulness (Kobasa, 1979), confidence (Bandura, 1989), meaningfulness (Howard, 1989), self-legislation (Taylor, 1977), a sense of challenge (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), responsibility (de Charms, 1976), planfulness and realism. (Super, 1984, p. 209)

The content of career counseling, then, will center on these characteristics and the fostering of same within the individual. Interpretative career counseling "emphasizes language and discourse; . . . it is context dependent, relativistic, and perspectival" (Young & Valach, 1996, p. 372). Movement from an intrapersonal focus to an interpersonal process occurs within this framework of career counseling. The role of the social environment (parents, peers, and others) is paramount. As part of the "career system, self and others, for example, family members, co-workers, and counselors can be seen as agents" (p. 372). System thinking replaces "patch-up and linear, hierarchical thinking" (Peavy, 1996a, p. 9).

Collin (1996a) has recently articulated a new model, social-constructionist, which aims to transform career and career counseling. This perspective has evolved from other parent schools of thought such as decision making, social learning, and cognitive-developmental, among others. Differentiating itself from the positivistic, industrial notions of career, Collin fashioned a new science of careers. Informed by a "contextualist epistemology," the social-constructionist perspective describes humans as meaning seeking and meaning making. Context is socially constructed. Weick (1979; cited in Collin, 1996a) stated that "people create the environments which then impose on them" (p. 381). Collin's organizational and management background shaped her research on the structure of work and career. Influences were the works of Schon (1983) and Weick (1979). Schon's work on reflective practice and the reflective practitioner helped shape Collin's model. He wrote:

> Whenever a professional claims to "know," in the sense of technical expert, he (or she) imposes his categories, theories, and techniques on the situation. . . . He (or she) ignores, explains away, or controls those features of the situation, including the human beings within it, which do not fit his (or her) knowledge-in-practice. (p. 345)

Collin asserted that much conventional research and theory was "passive and formulaic" in practice. Social-constructionist research, on the other hand, is contextual, improvisional, flexible, and evolving.

Watson (1994) critiqued the model of career counselor training whereby the trait-and-factor counselor assumes the expert role. Interviews are often conducted in a structured, closed manner as opposed to the more open, flexible social-constructionist counseling. Collin (1996b) called for a model of counselor training that entails a reciprocal process of feedback between counselor and counselee. "Trainees do not learn practical skills by applying theories" (p. 70). Polkinghorne (1990; cited in Collin, 1996b) described the difference in the two models: "Counselling practice treats human beings as agents responsible for making informed choices, whereas positivist career counselling practice essentially puts them in the same category as other natural objects" (p. 70).

The reflective practitioner "steps into the situation, reframes it, and experiments with the consequences and implications" (Schon, 1983, p. 132). This "mutual shaping" (Savickas, 1994) characterizes the relationship between counselor and counselee.

In summary, Collin (1996a) described the sociopolitical and socioeconomic changes in society today and called for a realignment or transformation of career and career counseling. Building on the contributions of reflective practice theory (Polkinghorne, 1990, cited in Collin, 1996b; Schon, 1983; Weick, 1979) and critical thinking (Irving &

Williams, 1995), social-constructionist describes a proactive, dynamic, and evolving model for career counseling training.

Paralleling recent developments in action theory have been other shifts in global thinking. One such example has been the increased popularity of chaos theory as an alternative to objective, scientific theory. In the next section Gelatt's new model of decision making will be discussed.

Gelatt's Model of Positive Uncertainty

Gelatt (1962) presented a rational model of decision making. This approach describes the steps involved in decision making: define objectives, analyze information logically, predict consequences, and be consistent. In 1989 he critiqued his former model of rational, logical decision making and proposed an irrational, intuitive model called *positive uncertainty.*

Gelatt's (1989) new approach is fashioned out of chaos theory. Whereas "old science" centered on linear, objective, scientific methods, chaos theory is based on circuitous, subjective, and new scientific methods. Gelatt (1995) wrote: "Chaos theory points to a world of seamlessness—the scientific fact that everything is connected to everything else in an unbroken wholeness" (p. 115).

Moreover, chaos theory shows that there is no such thing as objectivity. We have been conditioned to seek order and to control. We seek step-by-step life planning. This conventional planning, according to Gelatt (1995), is like "following a blueprint," whereas creative planning is like "using an artist's palette" (p. 110). Humans, as nonlinear systems, must learn to rely on intuition and creativity in the face of disorder and uncertainty. Gelatt (1989) maintained that the only thing about which we can be sure is that there will be change and uncertainty—hence positive

uncertainty. The world is constantly moving, changing, and growing. "Within such a world, chaos is an integral part of nature and in itself is not entirely without order" (Gelatt, 1995, p. 110). But science does not know exactly from where this order comes.

De Bono's (1985; cited in Gelatt, 1989) creativity model explains the many paradoxes of life. For example, Gelatt wrote: "Does it seem paradoxical to be positive (comfortable and confident) in the face of uncertainty (ambiguity and doubt)?" (p. 253). In 1995 Gelatt described chaos and creativity as the same side of the coin. Chaos theory "has turned our perceptual world upside down. It can help us look at confusion creatively rather than fearfully. It can help us realize that not knowing isn't debilitating. . . . It can show us a "whole" new view of connectedness" (p. 109).

Gelatt (1995) suggested acceptance of chaos (uncertainty and instability) and recommended a positive attitude toward uncertainty. Positive uncertainty as a model has four paradoxical principles that incorporate skills and attitudes for the counseling of the future. These principles are

1. Be focused and flexible in what you want.
2. Be aware and wary about what you know.
3. Be objective and optimistic in what you believe.
4. Be practical and magical in what you do. (p. 113)

Nevertheless, Gelatt cautioned that chaos theory will not render the rational, logical, scientific methods obsolete (even though they are clearly becoming insufficient). What is needed, according to Gelatt, is a paradoxical balance of both.

Gelatt (1995) advocated for a new counseling approach that uses both methods (rational as well as intuitive). This entails both a learning and an

unlearning process. "Processing information and acquiring knowledge will still be important in the future, but will not be sufficient" (p. 114). Further, he observed that when "knowing is the bottom line, then knowing becomes the antithesis of learning" (p. 114). Gelatt devised the term *flexpert* to refer to those who are "comfortable with uncertainty, capable of change, and both sensitive and creative" (p. 114).

Positive uncertainty endorses visioning: "Everything is created twice, . . . mentally, when one imagines the future, . . . and physically, when the future happens" (Covey, 1990; cited in Gelatt, 1995, p. 114). Gelatt maintained that the future does not exist but must be created. Counselors have a powerful mission to help clients to create that future. Clients will feel uncertain but will be comfortable with that feeling. A positive attitude is important in the face of this uncertainty, however.

Counselors must develop new tools and new skills to work with clients to "combat" certain "new neuroses" (Gelatt, 1995, p. 113) brought on by the constant chaotic change. These new neuroses, such as "future phobia" (fear of the future), "paradigm paralysis" (inability to shift one's point of view), "info-mania" (idolizing of information), and "reverse paranoia" (the belief that you are following someone) are disabilities in that they inhibit creative, chaotic-confronting thinking and behaving. But there are remedies for these disabilities in some "future sensing" skills. For example, we can help our clients to develop "flexpertize"—a tolerance for ambiguity, an open-mindedness, a capacity to change one's mind, and even one's paradigm" (Gelatt, 1995, pp. 113-114).

This model places emphasis on counseling techniques such as visioning, imagery, and creativity. Gelatt (1995) posed an interesting question: "What would happen if counsellors helped clients learn how to

plan their lives by the vision rather than by the book?" (p. 115). The counselor of the future must "help clients imagine and invent their own future" (Gelatt, 1989, p. 255). Whereas in the past counselors helped clients to make up their minds, they must help people to "keep their minds open" (p. 256) in the future.

Although Gelatt's (1989, 1995) new model has tremendous potential for the career counseling of the postmodern era, his old model continues to guide the theory and practice of decision making. However, his newer principles are finding their way into contemporary models of career development.

Career Development Theory: A Discussion

Positivism has been very influential in career development research (Herr & Cramer, 1996; Savickas & Walsh, 1996; Walsh & Chartrand, 1994). Career development theories have grown out of a predominantly psychological foundation. The focus on the individual differences and, in many cases, deficiencies stemmed from a positivist perspective that successful career development depends on the ability of the individual to adopt the values and behaviors of the dominant society of the time (Chartrand, 1996). Embedded in this approach are assumptions of homogeneity and stability of the occupational environment and social values (Cahill & Martland, 1994). Cultural values, behaviors, and varying opportunity structures were relegated to the periphery; ethnic and demographic groups were treated as exceptions rather than integral to the main body of career theories. Leong (1996) wrote: "All too often our practice and the theories that guide them are based on simple models that

are linear, univariate, single equilibrium, and static. . . . The client is complex, adaptive, . . . dynamic, nonlinear, multivariate, and open" (p. 341).

Career development is multidisciplined, with key concepts originating in the fields of economics, psychology, sociology, and business. Theoretical and research approaches to career development attempt to provide a framework for understanding career behavior and patterns. In applying career theories to career counseling practice, the fundamental challenge, according to Leong (1996) is "to make the practice of career counseling more scientifically rigorous and the science of vocational psychology more clinically relevant" (p. 342).

Richardson (1996) cautioned that the theories and models of career development must be "transformed by an analysis of gender, race, and class" (p. 357). Chartrand (1996) echoed these sentiments in these words: "In much research, individuals have been largely decontextualized" (p. 389).

Conventional theorists and researchers did not attend to development but, rather, focused on choice and work adjustment. Super (1980) and the other developmental theorists made significant contributions to the conceptualization of career development. Following years of struggling with instrumentation and work towards the refinement of constructs, the career development field was enriched with concepts and constructs such as *career maturity* or readiness to make decisions.

Other theorists (e.g., Herr, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1995; Herr & Cramer, 1996; Savickas, 1994) have advanced the many constructs of career development. The present investigator cautions against assumptions of homogeneity of *readiness* for clients. Both developmental level and coping capacity are variables to consider in career counseling.

Savickas (1994) emphasized *adaptability* as the interaction between the individual and the environmental context. This is a shift from readiness as a construct occurring "within the individual" to a focus on readiness for decision making as coping. Savickas went on to delineate dimensions of career maturity. The first dimension is *planfulness,* which consists of awareness and time perspective. To adapt, according to Savickas, individuals must become aware of the task and familiar with it and must orient themselves to it. The opposite is to be unaware and disoriented. Planfulness and foresight in looking ahead and thinking or reflecting about the components are two essential ingredients of adaptability.

Despite Super's (1980) efforts to explore career maturity and adaptability as constructs, little is known about the interactional and transactional processes of career development over the lifespan. Richardson (1993) noted that there seems to be a predilection to adhere to established theory rather than to explore new developments, new perspectives, and new questions. Harmon (1996) observed that the rate of change within career development research is not commensurate with the rate of change in society.

Contemporary theories of career development began appearing in the literature in the 1950s. Gysbers (1984) observed that at that time the occupational-choice focus of the first 40 years of career development gave way to a broader, more comprehensive view of individuals and their occupational development over the lifespan. Occupational choice was seen as a developmental process. It was during that time that the term *development* was used as a way of describing the phenomenon of occupational choice.

Gysbers and Moore (1981) proposed the concept of *life career development* in an effort to expand and extend career development from an occupational perspective to a life perspective. They defined life career development as self-development over the lifespan through the integration of the roles, settings, and events of a person's life. The word *life* in the definition refers to a focus on the whole person—the human career. The word *career* identifies and relates the roles in which the individuals are involved (worker, learner, family, citizen); the settings where individuals find themselves (home, school, community, workplace); and the events that occur over their lifetimes (job entry, marriage, divorce, retirement). Finally, development refers to the fact that individuals are always in the process of becoming. Life career development describes unique people with their own lifestyles (Gysbers & Moore, 1981).

Wolfe and Kolb (1980) described life career development:

> Career development involves one's whole life, not just occupations. As such, it concerns the whole person, needs and wants, capacities and potentials, excitements and anxieties, insights and blindspots, warts and all. More than that, it concerns him/her in the ever-changing contexts of his/her life. The environmental pressures and constraints, the bonds that tie him/her to significant others, responsibilities to children and aging parents, the total structure of one's circumstances are also factors that must be understood and reckoned with. In these terms career development and personal development converge. Self and circumstance—evolving, changing and unfolding in mutual interaction—constitute the focus and the drama of career development. (pp. 1-2)

The nature, shape, and substance of career development are not separate and independent from the economic, occupational, industrial, and social environments and structures in which they take place (Gysbers, 1984). What are some of these changes? In the next section I will reflect on some important themes that have emerged for the study of career development.

Themes in the Study of Career Development: Some Reflections

I believe that career theories/approaches and models have been and must continue to be critical in understanding clients' career behavior. I fear what appears to be a more lax view, particularly among practitioners, that theories and models have outgrown their usefulness. I disagree with this notion and affirm the importance and utility of good career development theories/approaches and models.

It is difficult to re-evaluate career theories and approaches out of context and time. Perhaps it is easier to be critical retrospectively. The truth is, however, that theories and/or approaches were couched in contexts. Factors such as culture, education, politics, personal beliefs, and expectations shaped the tenets or postulates of the theories/approaches and models.

Both the structure and substance of career development theories/ approaches and models have changed and will continue to do so. The discipline of career development has a rich, informed history. Evolution has occurred and, as in other disciplines, learning and/or growth have characterized this progression. In order to advance the future of the discipline, it is important not only to know, understand, and appreciate the past with its many accomplishments and shortcomings, but also to embrace those contributions. The foundation is there, and it is a strong one.

Each student of this history will be influenced by his or her own beliefs, expectations, and prejudices. For example, I have selectively presented mere samples of the many theories/approaches and models in this paper. There were many perhaps equally significant ones not represented (e.g., Holland). That is not to say, however, that some are more or less important than others. I find it easy to embrace the history of career development—

perhaps my earlier training as a student of history shaped my bias here. As a university professor and researcher, I strive to foster an appreciation and an enthusiasm for this history. Parenthetically, I feel that we need to inject some zest and vitality into the study of career development theories/ approaches and models.

Having embraced the importance of theory, it is important to evaluate both the conventional and the more contemporary contributions. It is true that the conventional theories/approaches and models have a longer history and thus have more empirical evidence to support and/or refute their significance. Nevertheless, we cannot afford to ignore newer developments, which will have to stand the tests of time and rigor. Certainly, the future of the discipline depends on our willingness to take risks.

I would like to accentuate some of my biases as per career development theory. I could make it easy by embracing all the theories/ approaches and models, but perhaps I would appear noble but very vague. The truth is that I believe in the complexity of the career development process. Consequently, I favor the developmental approaches of Tiedeman (1961) and Super (1980), among others. Whereas I emphasize the importance of understanding development, I diminish the importance of choice as solely a developmental process.

The life career development concept from Gysbers and Moore (1981) seems key to the understanding of self-development over the lifespan. This life perspective pervades career development. Subsequently, I strive in my teachings and research towards a more holistic concept for career development. I acknowledge the role of my biases and experiences with people, particularly women living in rural and remote geographic areas, in shaping my preferences. Yankelovich and Leftowitz's (1982) and Savickas's

(1991) research on work and love helps us to make sense of the inextricability of career and personal issues.

The contextual and ecological approaches have particular relevance as well. Whereas the more conventional sociological approaches were important in aiding our understanding of contextual factors, the more contemporary action approaches promise an exciting, dynamic future. Both the structure and the substance of career development will be altered significantly. Redefining career as action is a dynamic concept. The postmodern approaches emphasize narrative, constructionism, and the importance of meaning in the lives of clients. I think that the action approaches are excellent examples of holistic models.

I would be remiss if I did not emphasize the role of self in career development theory. From my studies and experiences, albeit limited as they are, it appears that the self is critical to life career development. I believe that there is a wealth of understanding accumulated from the conventional career theories/approaches and models. I also think, however, that we must look outside the field to other disciplines to expand upon our knowledge of the self. The disciplines of sociology, social psychology, and feminist psychology provide rich understandings for us to build upon. The self that emerges is a self-in-relation.

In my opinion, career development theory is a lens that must embrace the cultural diversity of clients and their behaviors. I cannot think of a more exciting, dynamic field at this particular crossroads in our development.

In the next chapter I will make an attempt to examine the role of selected contextual variables as per career development.

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CHAPTER 3

EXAMINING CAREER DEVELOPMENT FOR THE RURAL CONTEXT AND FOR WOMEN

This chapter will explore the role of context and career development. The discussion will focus on (a) the rural context, and (b) the career development of women. Specifically, the objectives of the chapter are (a) to provide an overview of the importance of contextual variables vis-à-vis the role in career development literature, (b) to examine rural contexts as a specific variable in career development, and (c) to discuss selected literature on women's career development.

The Role of Contextual Variables and Career Development

In the recent past substantial attention has been given in the career development literature to the role of contextual factors. However, such was not always the case. Perhaps Herr and Cramer's (1996) discussion will help to put this void in context. In referring to Harmon's (1994) description of the "realities we do not address" (p. 203) in career development theories, Herr and Cramer stated:

> These include persons who do not have freedom of choice in terms of job opportunities or social status. They also include persons whose interests and abilities have not been allowed to develop because they live in poverty without enough to eat to support effective learning. For what do these people develop self-efficacy? "The people who are experiencing poverty, homelessness, crime, substance abuse and addiction, domestic violence, and economic insecurity do not see work as an intrinsic source of fulfillment. . . . In summary, we do not adequately address the realities of our social system or the people who are most negatively impacted by it. In addressing the problems faced by individuals in planning and choosing a career course, we tend to put too much faith in the power of individual solutions." (p. 705)

In the recent *Handbook of Career Counseling Theory and Practice* (Savickas & Walsh, 1996), a recurring criticism of the dominant paradigms centered around ethnocentrism and decontextualism. Closer scrutiny of selected comments follows.

Herr (1996b) pointed to major "voids in the knowledge necessary about women, minorities, and other groups" (p. 29). He urged that contemporary theory become contextualized and particular to specific client groups.

Leong (1996) criticized the dominant paradigms, which are limiting and based on simple "nondynamic and reductionistic models of human behavior" (p. 339). Further, he wrote: "All too often our practice and the theories that guide them are based on simple models that are linear, univariate, single equilibrium, and static. . . . The client is a complex, adaptive system, . . . dynamic, nonlinear, multivariate, open" (p. 341). Again, Leong admonished us to recognize our "shortsightedness and ethnocentrism" (p. 339) and to regard our clients as cultural beings.

And still another scholar, Collin (1996a), wrote: "Individuals have been largely decontextualized" (p. 389). All (Herr, 1996a, 1996b; Leong, 1996; Richardson, 1996) agreed, however, that despite the widespread recognition of the importance of the environment and context in career, some significant characteristics (e.g., class, gender, and race) are still disregarded.

However, the stability of the industrial period provided a good environment to allow a focus on individual differences and their impacts on occupations (Herr, 1996b). The political, economic, and social shifts that are currently occurring provide an opportunity to look at the contextual dimensions of career development.

The cultural homogeneity of the population that is assumed in a number of the theories has always been a myth. Fitzgerald and Betz (1994) and

Leong (1996) have suggested that culture as a moderator variable in our theories and practice has merely been given lip service. Chartrand and Camp (1991) maintained that the majority of studies have used a very narrow spectrum of the population—students of postsecondary institutions or high schools and, in the labor force, professionals and managers.

The increasing pluralism of Canadian society opens up new avenues for research into levels of cultural identity, components of value systems, interactions between people of different values, and the effects of these on career development. There is a great need to study the career processes among immigrant and indigenous peoples. Less-visible minority cultures also exist throughout the country on the basis of geography. The sense of place, environmental and social preferences, and community or geographical attachment may prove to have a significant impact on the individual career (Cahill & Martland, 1994).

Richardson (1993) raised two problems. The first problem is that theories and models of vocational psychology and career development are too static in light of what is already known about the interactional and transactional processes of development over the lifespan. She pointed out that research is there, but there is a persistent, slow response to new developments in the basic area of career development. Some of this latency may be inevitable, she claimed, because it takes time to have developments filter through into interventions and applications.

Richardson (1993) pointed to an equally disturbing second problem: that the theoretical and research literature has not attended to the diversity of racial, ethnic, and class populations but has been notably oriented toward the White middle class. Furthermore, Richardson cautioned that the absence of racial, ethnic, poor, and lower-class populations undermines any claims

that this literature might have made to generalizability. According to Richardson, the concept of career is embedded in "an ethos of self-centered individualism and in an ethnocentric conception of the self" (p. 428). Parenthetically, Richardson was met with some criticism on the use of blunt language. Tinsley (1994), for example, refuted this thesis and suggested that "the only way for the discipline to develop a more complex, multifaceted understanding . . . is to educate a diverse array of counseling psychologists to socialize them in the importance of contributing to the theories and research of the discipline" (p. 110). There ought to be a shift in the paradigm of career development whereby there is less of a focus on occupation and more of a focus on the individual. The present investigator agrees with Richardson that there is a need to move to a broader emphasis on fostering the development of individuals considered as whole persons in relation to the work in their lives.

Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg (1986) operationalized *context* "to encompass contemporary as well as historical factors relating to those familial, social, and economic influences that affect individuals through the lifespan" (p. 434). Blustein and Noumair (1996) adopted this definition as well. Likewise, Herr (1995) noted that the social context is

> not a unitary phenomenon. It is comprised of political, economic, interpersonal, and cultural components that have varying types of relevance for different subpopulations—children, youth, adults, women and men, the abled and the disabled, the rich and the poor—at different times in their exploration of preparation for, transition to, and adjustment in work. (p. 1)

Others, as well, focused their research efforts on culture. Brislin (1990), for example, defined *culture:*

> Culture refers to the widely shared ideals, values, formation, and uses of categories, assumptions about life, and goal-directed activities that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted

> as "right" and "correct" by people who identify themselves as members of a society. (p. 337)

Leong (1996) accepted Brislin's (1990) definition and accentuated the role of contextual variables in career development. Many of the career counseling approaches (e.g., Blustein & Noumair, 1996; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Gottfredson, 1981; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994; Vondracek et al., 1986) stress the importance of situational and contextual factors to one's career development. For example, Gottfredson discussed how people's views of who they are are grounded in their social context. Vondracek et al. have similarly attempted to articulate a "developmental-contextual" view of career development that emphasizes the role of "contextual affordances" in career choice. Specifically, they believed that the environments offer individuals resources and opportunities that affect developmental outcomes, directly and indirectly. Bronfenbrenner (1979; cited in Herr & Cramer, 1996) also described the significance of the interaction between person and environment, which he referred to as the "principle of interconnectedness" (p. 202). Similarly, Lent et al. elaborated on Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory and described the ways that key features of the person and the environment interact to affect the nature and scope of career development.

It does appear that many theories and research have begun to include contextual variables, such as familial, social, economic, and cultural factors. As Jepsen (1994) observed, "Insistence on a context-free, 'dust bowl empiricism' has been replaced by an appreciation of multiple perspectives on people and on their careers" (p. 51).

I would agree with Herr and Cramer's (1996) observation, however, that although most career development theories have "addressed the

importance of situational variables to career development, they frequently have done so in abstract terms" (p. 706). Career developmental theories need further refinement insofar as they discuss the applicability of interventions for multiple, pluralistic contexts. Further, Herr and Cramer constructively formulated what in my opinion are the critical questions to be answered when considering the appropriateness of interventions: "How much, when, under what conditions, and for whom?"

If career counseling interventions are to be contextualized, it follows that an understanding of the diverse contexts is crucial. In the next section the rural context and its implications for career development will be discussed.

The Rural Context and the Implications for Career Development

One way to test the fit of theories/models in career development is to examine their applicability to a particular target group (Herr & Cramer, 1996). In this section I will describe (a) the special needs of people living in rural areas, and (b) a framework for community career counseling. In so doing, I will draw upon personal experiences obtained through my work on career counseling projects with large numbers of unemployed people in rural Newfoundland and Labrador.

Distinct differences emerge between rural and urban areas, particularly with regard to economic and social structures. People who grow up in urban centers develop some different perspectives from those who grow up in rural settings (Cahill & Martland, 1996). For example, dependence on resource-based occupations, the more generalized social roles, and the tendency toward egalitarianism and co-operation characterize life in rural

areas. The focus of people usually is the whole community or the collective, whereas a more individualistic perspective is apparent in urban areas.

Sensitivity to these differences and how they influence life decisions is important in developing theories/approaches and models that are transferable to rural populations. The traditional career development theories/approaches have been entrenched in the urban-industrial structure. Assumptions of diversity of choices and mobility often negate different needs of rural populations.

The political, economic, and social shifts that are occurring provide an opportunity to look at the contextual dimensions of career development. The increasing pluralism of society opens new avenues for research into levels of cultural identity, components of value systems, interactions between people of different values, and the effects on career development.

Cahill and Martland (1994) noted that sense of place, environmental and social preferences, and community or geographical attachment may prove to have a significant impact on the individual's career. Oftentimes, though, little attention is given to the importance or even range of geographic options. Hodson and Sullivan (1985) and Lewis and Thomas (1987) studied the importance of location in the decisions that people make throughout their lives. They observed that geographical choice influences people, often at a subconscious level. Cahill and Martland (1996) felt that the attachment that many rural people feel toward their community may be a more conscious one in the face of perceived and real threats to their culture and their self-identity. No doubt, geographic preference may better explain the choices that many rural people make to stay in their homes despite financial hardships and restricted occupational opportunities. There is ample evidence (e.g., Biggs & Bollman, 1991; Hodson & Sullivan, 1985;

Lewis & Thomas, 1987) that geographical preference is a significant factor in decision making.

Rural people's lives are intertwined with their communities. The reciprocal nature of the relationship is apparent as people influence their environments and in turn are influenced by them. It is a common myth that rural communities, or any other communities, are static or even homogeneous entities. On the contrary, change is evidenced over time and physical space. Paradoxically, the people may be characterized as egalitarian and co-operative in spirit but individualistic in their goals. Motivational levels must often be kept in balance between the individual and his/her community. The implications for career counseling are challenging if the focus becomes the individual, which was the *modus operandi.*

When the cod fishery collapsed in Newfoundland and Labrador in 1992, massive unemployment resulted, primarily in rural communities. Individuals, families, and entire communities were in shock. Governments and institutions were overwhelmed. In retrospect, all had different and perhaps even conflicting goals. Although the motivations may have been similar—to get people working—the perspectives on what to do and how to do it were different. It is worthwhile to explore some of the issues and challenges.

When there is economic stability, individual approaches to career counseling make sense. In times and areas where options are many and varied, it seems appropriate to work from a more intrapsychic model of career counseling. This approach may not be the best one in turbulent, unstable periods. That is not to say, however, that individuals need and will benefit from counseling.

The shock of losing their occupation and the uncertainty facing the very existence of local communities required that people seek help. Again,

paradoxically, help in rural communities is readily available in the form of family support and collegiality among community members. Professional infrastructure, however, is not readily available due to distance and limited resources. Yet this type of professional service is essential especially during the initial stage of shock and grief.

The meaning of work may differ from rural to urban centers. Of course, there will be disparities within and among rural communities as well. The nonoccupational dimensions of work have been short-changed in the traditional career development literature. It is true that Super's (1980) lifespan approach broadened the definition of career to include the nonformal aspects. Nevertheless, those nonoccupational dimensions have not received equal treatment. 'Work to live' versus 'live to work' has been an interesting dichotomy for many people. The centrality of work in the lives of people has been allied with the more formal aspect of occupations. Life satisfaction may be obtained or defined in diverse ways. Bergermeier, Borg, and Champoux (1984) observed that, whereas some people may depend, for example, on employment to fulfill many of their intrinsic and extrinsic needs, others may see occupation as the source of financial security that they need to support more important aspects of their lives. Geographical preference, for instance, has prompted many individuals to compromise occupational goals (Biggs & Bollman, 1991; Lewis & Thomas, 1987) and may contribute to the greater workplace commitment found among workers of small, independent companies on the economic periphery (Hodson & Sullivan, 1985).

Commitment to work is another interesting construct that seemingly must be questioned during more turbulent periods. If commitment within an occupation is viewed as an index of career maturity, what happens when

radical shifts in the occupational structure negates the possibility of holding a job? Constructs such as "career adaptability" (Super, 1980) and "personal flexibility" (Herr & Cramer, 1996) make more sense. Broader meanings of work paired with more positive notions of personal success must prevail.

The Newfoundland and Labrador fishery collapse created conditions not unlike those characterized by the current global economic recession, which resulted in the elimination of many blue-collar and resource occupations (see Herr, 1993a, 1993b for a review of these changes). Governments typically attempt to manage mass retraining efforts in an attempt to get people back to work. Realistically, however, serious consideration must be given to who is being retrained and why. Mallinckrodt and Bennett (1992) and Bogenhold and Staber (1991) noted that the success of retraining depends not only on the individual, but also on job availability. Attempting to move massive groups from one occupational slot to another helps statisticians who record where numbers of people are placed but may prove fruitless if spaces are limited. Furthermore, if the index for life satisfaction and/or success is successful placement in an occupation, then we may indeed be setting people up for failure.

Implicit in the individualist approaches to career counseling is the assumption that, rationally, people who lose their jobs must accept the loss and move on. Although many people will arrive at this juncture, albeit for some after some pain and time, most will decide to stay within their communities. In Newfoundland and Labrador this was the scenario. The question becomes, What shape does career counseling take in circumstances such as this? Following is a brief description of an attempt to adapt career counseling models to fit the needs of people within rural communities. I would like to caution the reader about the limited

generalizability of this framework and to point out that this is preliminary work that needs further refinement (see Cahill & Martland, 1996, for a more detailed description).

The challenge to develop, implement, and evaluate an intervention to facilitate career counseling within a community context was compounded by geography. Small, rural communities were isolated by distance and limited infrastructure. Building on earlier experiences utilizing distance technology enabled the operationalization of a plan to maximize strengths rather than to emphasize a deficit model. Miller (1992) suggested that personal identity is embedded in group affiliation. He explained that bonds to geographical place intensify when members communicate and interact with each other frequently and over long periods of time, reaching a point where the individual members assume a "collective identity," thinking in terms of "we" rather than "I" (p. 33). It made sense, then, to capitalize on enhancing communication within and among communities within Newfoundland and Labrador.

Amundson's (1989) model of individual employment counseling was adapted to fit the needs of the collective, the community. After the initial needs assessment, it became apparent that there were parallels in the tasks facing the communities and those facing individuals. Those tasks, as noted by Amundson, included identification of goals; exploration of alternatives; assessment of interests, abilities, and skills; problem solving; decision making; commitment; and action. A cautionary note is necessary guarding against the seemingly linear, rational nature of the steps involved. As in the case with individual counseling, so too with community counseling or group counseling generally, a nonlinear, more irrational process ensues.

The challenges for the counselor in community counseling are more closely allied with those of the counselor in group counseling. Communication, problem-solving, decision-making, and organization/ information planning skills are also, as always, important. The counselor as facilitator, advocate, and social activist are the emerging roles.

One of the main differences in working from a group perspective rather than an individualist approach is the need to conceptualize the collective as an entity. Cahill and Martland (1994) noted that it is not important for every member of the community to have every skill required to achieve his or her goals; members will have different sets of knowledge and skills to contribute to the task. They observed that some people may possess organizational skills, whereas others may have analytical skills or public relations competencies. Also, people will differ in the amount of time they are able to dedicate to the community; responsibilities to other roles will vary from one member to another. If community harmony is to endure, differences must be acknowledged, accepted, and valued.

The experiences, although preliminary, within Newfoundland and Labrador provided encouraging data for study. It appears that because communities display various combinations of values, goals, and needs, it will be necessary to develop multiple community-based career-counseling programs. As Cahill and Martland (1996) pointed out, this will require considerable empirical research on the nature of the workplace and geographical communities and on the antecedents, processes, and outcomes of collective action of displaced workers and other subgroups. Nevertheless, there seems to be sufficient evidence to warrant the further study of models for career counseling that meet the needs of groups, particularly collectives, or communities.

It is interesting that women as a group emerged as leaders and facilitators amid the economic and social crises within Newfoundland and Labrador. It appears that they entered the readiness phase for retraining much more easily. They also adapted to the collective goals more readily than their male counterparts did. In the next section women's career development will be discussed as per the literature and integrated with the Newfoundland and Labrador experience.

Career Development of Women

An important question in assessing the career development theory is how accurately the theory accounts for the career development of both men and women. The objectives of this section are (a) to review briefly earlier and more recent theories/research of the career development of women, and (b) to discuss four separate career counseling interventions for women, based on preliminary research conducted in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Whether or not a separate theory of career choice for men and women should be developed is still a contentious issue in the literature. Whereas criticism of the traditional paradigms is evident, less clear are the directions for future development. Perhaps a brief survey of past and current theories/ approaches may be more informative.

Over the past three decades women have been participants and agents in a transformation of the workforce and the workplace. Advances in technology, philosophy, and the conceptualization of roles, goals, and development have resulted in massive, almost radical shifts in thinking about paradigms of career behavior. Nevertheless, as Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) observed, the study of the variables influencing the career development of women has resulted in a better understanding of the variables associated

with men's career development and thus has enriched the entire career development field.

Initial Theories of Career Development for Women

Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) attributed our early knowledge of women's career development to people such as Super (1957), Psathas (1968), and Zytowski (1969). Most participants in the early research were White, middle-class males. It was believed, however, that generalizability to women was possible.

Super (1957) was one of the earlier theorists to study the career patterns of women. Here is an abbreviated description of these career patterns as presented by Herr and Cramer (1996):

1. *The stable homemaking career pattern:* This includes all women who marry while in or very shortly after leaving school or college, having expected to do so and having no significant work experience.

2. *The conventional career pattern:* After leaving college or school, the woman works for a period of time in such occupations as nursing, teaching, clerical work, or occupational therapy, thus developing a "sense of independence and a sense of being a person in one's own right." After a relatively brief work experience, the woman becomes a full-time homemaker.

3. *The stable working career pattern:* After leaving school or college, the woman chooses a career that becomes her life work. She may perceive her career as lifelong or as something to which to return after full-time homemaking.

4. *The double-track career pattern:* After school or college, the woman marries but continues with a double career of working and

homemaking. Childbearing may interrupt the pattern temporarily. Usually, women of higher socioeconomic status fall into this category.

5. *The interrupted career pattern:* The sequence here is one of working, homemaking, and working while or instead of homemaking. The woman works for some time, then marries, and then when her children are old enough for her to leave them (e.g., financially), she returns to working.

6. *The unstable career pattern:* This pattern consists of working, homemaking, working again, returning to full-time homemaking, and so on. Economic pressures or poor health may necessitate when and if work is chosen. This pattern usually is followed by the lower socioeconomic levels.

7. *The multiple-trial career pattern:* This pattern is the same in women as in men. It consists of a succession of unrelated jobs, with stability in none, resulting in the individual's having no genuine life work (Herr & Cramer, 1996, pp. 538-539).

Super's (1957) descriptors spurred research on career patterns. No doubt, Super's work proved to be inspiring for the many researchers (e.g., Betz & Hackett, 1981, 1983, 1986; Farmer, 1985; Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980; Gottfredson, 1981; Harmon, 1970) of women's career development who followed.

Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) noted the contributions of Psathas (1968), a sociologist, in the early discussions of women's career development. Specifically, he examined variables that had not been a focus for men. For example, he found that marriage was "a method of status attainment for women" (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 251). He proposed that occupations that "provided proximity to potentially desirable mates would prove most attractive to women—thus attempting to explain the overrepresentation of women in occupations such as secretary, nurse, and

flight attendant" (p. 251). Psathas's ideas, not surprisingly, given his sociology orientation, were important because he had attuned us to the significance of nonintrapsychic factors such as family, social class, and social mobility.

Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) also pointed to the research of Zytowski (1969) as foundational work in understanding women's career development. Zytowski was adamant that there ought to be a separate theory of career development for men and women. Zytowski focused on the role of homemaker for women and accentuated differences between other types of work (outside the home). In describing variables affecting entry into and the degree of participation in the workforce, he listed three career patterns:

1. mild (very early or late entry, brief span, traditional occupation);
2. moderate (early entry, lengthy span, traditional occupation); and
3. usual (early entry, lengthy span, nontraditional occupation). (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 252)

Undoubtedly, the context of the preceding theorists/researchers shaped the context and the process of their studies. The restricted numbers of women within and among the sundry occupations skewed the findings. Most studies were descriptive and tended to classify behavior (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996).

Contemporary Theories of Career Development for Women

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a surge in the number of theories/approaches describing women's career development. In the constraints of time and space, only selected theories/approaches (Astin, 1984, cited in Herr & Cramer, 1996; Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983, 1984, 1994; Gottfredson,

1981; Hackett & Betz, 1981; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994) will be described.

Astin (1984; cited in Herr & Cramer, 1996) developed a sociopsychological model that may be applicable to both the career development of men and women. Herr and Cramer described four constructs in her model:

1. *Motivation* (for survival, pleasure, and contribution), which are the same for both sexes. Work is defined as activity intended to produce or accomplish something, and which can take the form of paid employment, volunteer work, or family work—has the capacity to satisfy these needs.

2. *Sex-role socialization,* whereby social norms and values are inculcated, through play, family, school, and early work experiences. In the process of satisfying the three needs through these childhood activities, the individual develops certain experiences that directly influence career choice and work or behavior.

3. *Structure of opportunity,* which includes economic conditions, the family structure, the job market, the occupational structure, and other environmental factors that are influenced by scientific discoveries, technological advances, historical events, and social and intellectual movements.

4. *Work expectations,* including perceptions of one's capabilities and strengths, the options available, and the kinds of work that can best satisfy one's needs. The individual's expectations are initially set by the socialization process and by early perceptions of the structure of opportunity. They can be modified, however, as the structure of opportunity changes. (Astin, 1984; cited in Herr & Cramer, 1996, p. 266)

The strengths of Astin's (1984; cited in Herr & Cramer, 1996) model center on the influence of the environment, the structure of opportunity, and the potential for future research on the predictive factors of career behavior. Fitzgerald and Betz (1984) have criticized Astin's model because of its failure to define constructs and to acknowledge the contributions of the women's movement as significant to our understanding of women's career behavior.

Farmer (1985) also devised a multidimensional model of career motivation applicable to males and females. Based on the theoretical conceptualizations of social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986), the model assumes that over time a broad range of interacting factors in the self and in the environment influence the strength of interest in careers and the selection and persistence or nonpersistence in a science, mathematics, or technology career (see Farmer, Wardrop, Anderson, & Risinger, 1995). Farmer et al. conducted longitudinal studies on variables such as gender, race, age, socioeconomic status, ability, values, self-esteem, independence attributions, parental and teacher support, and how these factors influence career behavior (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996).

The Betz, Fitzgerald, and Fassinger (1985; cited in Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996) model attempts to enhance our understanding of women's career behavior, "reflecting the belief that attempts to develop an integrated, gender-free model are premature and risk neglecting unique and critical aspects of women's experience" (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 254). Grounded in the psychology of individual differences, it undertakes to delineate personality and background variables that promote satisfactory career choice in women of high ability. This model builds on work by Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) on positive role model influence and the effect of

encouragement on the realism of career choice. Needless to say, the work of Betz et al. has enlightened the field of women's career development, particularly vis-à-vis the role of personal agency and ability.

Finally, the approach of Hackett and Betz (1981) is another important contemporary contribution to the understanding of women's career development. This self-efficacy approach is based on Bandura's (1986) theory. Gender socialization influences the cognitive process (e.g., personal efficacy) in decision making and adjustment. Hackett and Betz "postulated that low expectations of self-efficacy with respect to career activities that have historically been male-dominated are a major source of gender differences in vocational choice" (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 255). The appropriateness of this model for facilitating women's vocational behavior is apparent. As well, there is great potential for future research on such issues as vicarious learning, modeling, and emotional support, and their effect on career development.

A Discussion of Selected Feminist Contributions

Parallel with those changes recorded within the career development field, there has been equally effective theory from other fields—sociology, anthropology, political science, physics, genetics, and biology. Particularly significant are the contributions of feminists within these disciplines. Of particular influence were the writings of a group of women from the Stone Center (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991), Bleier (1988), Harding (1986), Keller (1985), and Gilligan (1982). Frequently, there is criticism of the traditional models of counseling and psychotherapy. The common assessment is that the theories are "dominated by a male

eurocentric perspective with emphasis on the emergence of the individual and the task of achieving autonomy" (Wastell, 1996, p. 576).

Alternatively, the feminists provide an understanding of women's behavior through constructs such as meaning making, values, passions, and the organization of experience. The "organizing factor in women's lives is relational growth" (Jordan et al., 1991, p. 1). Self-in-relation is a common theme, as are connectedness and interconnectedness (Guisinger & Blatt, 1994). For example, Guisinger and Blatt questioned the devaluation of certain constructs such as dependence and interdependence in favor of autonomy and separation. Worell and Etaugh (1994) reviewed the themes and variations of feminist research over the past two decades. Following is a truncated list of selected themes:

1. recognizing that values enter into all scientific enterprises and that these values should be explicit;
2. rejecting the assumption of a truly objective science free from the culture, history, and the experience of the observer;
3. identifying and correcting multiple elements of sexism and bias in scientific research procedures;
4. extending the populations studied beyond White middle class, college student samples; studying populations that are relevant to the questions being asked;
5. admitting a range of research methods as legitimate; asserting that qualitative, quantitative, ethnographic, and other methods of gathering data may be useful for different purposes and may reveal unique information. (Worell & Etaugh, 1994, pp. 446-447)

In effect, feminist teachings have contributed to the transformation of psychology in general and are beginning to influence career development theory. Certainly, constructivism and action research are examples of this influence.

The methodologies and processes of research were transformed, as was the content of the theories; for example, studying women in

> the context of their lives and natural milieu, attending to women's strengths and capabilities as well as their problems (variables like competency and resilience), and viewing observed gender differences in the context of power dynamics and women's expected socialized role behaviors rather than as differences embedded in biology. (Worell & Etaugh, 1994, p. 447)

The writings from the Stone Center (Jordan et al., 1991) focused on topics such as the nature of interpersonal relationships, sociability, nurturance, and passivity in the context of unequal power relations, empowerment, emphasizing the situational context of gender and gendering as an active process that structures social interactions.

Overall, this body of reconceptualized theories, methods, and goals encompassed possibilities for social change, toward reductions in power asymmetrics and the promotion of gender justice. Research aimed towards fostering responsible application of research findings and initiating changes in policies, practices, and institutional structures that would benefit women. However, Worell and Etaugh (1994) were quick to point out that "transformation as a process, a journey, has far to go" (p. 448). Nevertheless, the benefits to counseling in general and career counseling in particular are numerous.

Implications for the Counseling of Women

The array of philosophies, concepts, and constructs from the various theories both within and outside the career development field have enriched and enlightened knowledge about the career development of women. Reference to a few of those issues will follow.

From within the field, Betz's (1989) null environment hypothesis is one such example. A *null environment,* as defined by Freeman (1979; cited in Betz, 1989), is "an environment that neither encourages nor discourages

individuals—it simply ignores them" (p. 137). Freeman's early work on this concept described women left "at the mercy" of environmental or personal resources. Male students, for example, in college reported more encouragement and support than did females from parents, friends, relatives, and significant others. Betz illustrated through case studies and life histories how environments, by not encouraging or discouraging, often demonstrate passive discrimination, or "discrimination through failure to act" (p. 137). Betz suggested that when counselors, for instance, encourage a young woman to "do what she thinks best" without helping her see the consequences of the labor market, resources, and so on, they are guilty of discrimination, and error of omission (p. 142).

Freeman's (1979) and, subsequently, Betz's (1989) null environment thesis applies equally as well to males in their career choices. Betz was critical of proponents of nondirective counseling who assumed that people "become who they are" (p. 143). People need information about alternatives. The counselor's role, according to Betz, was one of "restoring options so that people can make truly free choices for themselves; . . . it is our responsibility to ensure that our students and clients perceive real options for their own lives" (p. 143). Gottfredson (1981) also noted that counselors must strive to enrich the young woman's environment to restore some of the options that societal pressures have taken away. Undoubtedly, refuting this null environment is necessary for the total development and individuality of the person.

Thanks to the work of feminist psychologists, new concepts and constructs have emerged in counseling; for example, the importance of "knowing in an intuitive way as opposed to the rational, empiricist model. Or redefinition of success to include such concepts as consensus and

co-operation" (Jordan et al., 1991, p. 82); and finally, the value of connectedness and interrelatedness (Guisinger & Blatt, 1994). The paradigmatic shifts in data-gathering methodologies and designs have been boosted by the contributions from feminist teachings and others. Life histories, analogues, case studies, and qualitative as well as quantitative measures are samples of these changes. The resultant rich data have allowed researchers to grasp the complexities and intricacies of women's lives.

Despite the many positive aspects of the field, other negative dimensions have emerged. Sexual discrimination and stereotypic behaviors are examples of the barriers, demands, and challenges faced by women in the workplace. Meanwhile, the debate continues about whether we need a separate theory for women (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987) or one that is adapted to meet specific needs. The final part of this section will present a discussion of findings from two projects conducted in Newfoundland and Labrador: (a) a distance-delivered group career counseling program for women, and (b) women in the fishery. My initial observation based on these experiences is that we need separate career counseling interventions for women.

Needed: Separate Career Counseling Models for Women

The basis for the discussion presented in this subsection may be found both in the review of the literature on women's career development and from practical experiences with women in Newfoundland and Labrador. Thus, generalizability of findings is limited. Nevertheless, observations may prove noteworthy in the debate over whether to have separate or unified theories of career development for men and women.

Through case studies and life histories of women who had grown up in rural and remote areas of Newfoundland and Labrador, it was found that women have different career influences, patterns, and attachments than men do (Cahill, 1992; Dyke, 1993; Avery, 1996). Dyke, for example, found that women who were involved in multiple extracurricular activities as children were also highly involved in multiple activities and in more successful roles as adults. Further, she found that childhood role models and mentors were significant in the occupational choices of the women as adults. Avery studied women, unemployed by the fishery, who were becoming retrained. Again, role models and mentors were significant influences on their positive career development. Both of these studies (Avery, 1996; Dyke, 1993) emphasized the importance of meaningfulness in relationships. This is consistent with the literature described earlier on interconnectedness and relatedness.

Cahill and Martland's (1994, 1996) work on the unemployed fishers further confirmed that there were distinct differences in women's career patterns. Noticeable distinctions arose particularly in how women coped and adapted to change. Women, it seems, took less time to accept the terrible reality of the closedown of the fishery. As a group, women were more apt than men to change their plans and to begin retraining or to go back to school to upgrade their educational level. Openness to change and willingness to compromise appeared more easy for women. Readiness for counseling, as described by Amundson (1989), is a precondition for change and compromise. It appears, at least with the women in the Newfoundland and Labrador fishery, that women perceived the reality and responded accordingly. The appropriateness of such action is not the issue here, but

rather the fact that real differences emerged between men's and women's perceptions and the reaction to the harsh reality of massive unemployment.

My experiences with distance technology in group career counseling provided highly positive findings on women's perceptions and acceptance of the technology. Women were utilized as role models and mentors using distance technology as a medium. Certainly, many observations could be made as to why women found this medium to be so positive. Undoubtedly, the women's preference for communications generally and dialogue in particular were factors. Even though geography had created barriers, the women learned to view the technology as an enhancer, to bring people closer together, thus diminishing the barriers created by distance.

Clearly, it appears that a theory of career development that advocates 'self in relation' would be inclusive of women's career development. However, separate models for interventions may be necessary to describe counseling sufficiently at various times, ages, and stages of career development for women. Re-entry women, for example, appeared to need less time at the readiness phase but required some supports (e.g., child care, financial) during the retraining. Innovations in delivery of career counseling programs were welcomed by younger and older women alike.

Action theory and feminist principles, and data-gathering methodologies should be further studied in the future in the continued search for a more thorough understanding of women's career development. The constructivist constructs of self as reflexive were validated in the studies in Newfoundland and Labrador. Cahill (1992) developed an interactive career counseling program for young women utilizing Markus and Kitayama's (1994) and Markus and Nurius's (1986) constructs of possible and future selves.

Different techniques such as imagining, visioning, and guided fantasies were utilized in this program.

Undoubtedly, the story on women's career development is far from complete. The pieces of the story, thus far, seem to point to the need for separate models. More research is warranted, however, on the many women in the varied contexts, across time and space.

Articulating Theory Into Practice: Some Reflections on Career Counseling Models

I do not think it necessary to begin from ground zero when designing or building career counseling models. Much of the work has already been done. What appears to be lacking is the articulation of career development theories/approaches into adequate models for practice. In light of the foregoing discussion on contextual variables and women's career development, I would like to make some brief observations on the nature of career counseling. I would like to underscore my biases based on my experiences with research and practice within Newfoundland and Labrador.

I think that it is critical that we revisit our presumptions and assumptions about the nature of work. Just as there is a diversity of clients, so too is there a wide array of client behaviors. 'Work to live' versus 'live to work' may provide interesting gradations on a continuum depicting people's preferences. My experiences with rural and remote peoples point me to caution against generalizability.

Commitment within occupations needs to be examined closely. Work salience, worker satisfaction, and career identity are other constructs that must be submitted to closer scrutiny. Oftentimes measures of success and/or achievement vary within and among people. World views are not

homogeneous, nor are the interpretations of the diverse concepts and constructs within career development. The tendency to relegate differences or deviations to the periphery is a dangerous one. We all strive to simplify issues, but in so doing we reduce learning to mediocrity. Typical but destructive responses such as "But they are different" and "They are the exceptions" promote a belief in homogeneity within career development. It is time that we moved the peripheral issues to front-row-center, or at least to the people about whom the issues are discussed. It sounds clichéd and smacks of common sense to work from the world view of the client. Nevertheless, that is what we must do, however difficult it is.

Sometimes counselors pathologize career behaviors that deviate from the so-called norm. I caution against holding firm notions of what constitutes "typical" or "normal" behaviors. Declining promotions or choosing to be underemployed may be healthy decisions for the rural client who opts for a certain quality of life. Family and community roots have been significant influences on the occupational decisions of rural people. Career expectations, motivations, and goals have been inextricably intertwined with personal expectations, motivations, and goals. Self-in-relation to environment (both physical and social) has proven to be an important criterion for occupational choice. Collectivism over individualism has been favored. Thus, the transactional nature of career counseling, stressing the interdependence of contexts and the individual, becomes apparent.

Values vary across cultures and subcultures. My experiences, through both research and practice with people in rural and remote areas, have affirmed the diversity of personal values. Incentives such as money, status, and material accumulations have been devalued in favor of family,

community, and meaningful relationships. Rural women, in particular, have attached greater importance than men to relationships and interrelationships. Leadership as a goal has often been secondary to modesty and humility. It has been far more important to have others recommend one than to aspire on one's own or to indicate one's own aspiration to become a leader. Furthermore, it has become increasingly apparent to me as I have worked in rural settings that values vary and influence occupational aspirations and choices. I have grown to question the traditional definitions of success and failure in light of the new knowledge I have gained from my work. Again, I caution against oversimplification of constructs and concepts within the field.

I do not pretend to have definitive knowledge of the techniques and strategies needed to design successful career counseling interventions that may assist people in rural and remote areas. I do, however, have some key learnings that may be beneficial to prospective counselors who wish to work with similar clients. Following is a truncated list of selected issues to consider when working with people in rural and remote areas:

- There is not one approach to use, only multiple approaches. Approaches, models, and/or interventions should reflect the diversity of clients and clients' behaviors.
- World views are many and varied. Counselors ought to know the limitations and strengths of their own and be willing to embrace the diversity of their clients' world views.
- Values, aspirations, motivations, and attitudes will vary as well. Counselors must strive for openness and move beyond tolerance to embracing fully this rich array of behaviors.

- New and innovative structures must be explored. Case studies, narratives, and action-oriented research must be utilized to capture the richness and fullness of client behaviors.
- The substance of career counseling must also change. We in counseling have learned to carry out thorough intrapsychic assessments of interests, values, aptitudes, and goals. However, we need to broaden our repertoire of outcomes to include such goals as communication; not merely interpersonal, but also intrapersonal and intercommunity communication. The use of distance technologies and computers must be exploited towards this end.
- Career counseling roles must subsequently change to reflect changes in the structure and substance of career counseling. One such example, which became apparent from my work with the involuntarily unemployed, was the role of counselor as advocate. We must become proactive in working to influence the direction of social policy to benefit our clients.
- In turn, another challenge for the counselor is to help clients to influence social policy adequately for their own benefit. Clients need assistance in empowering themselves to influence their future society.
- Collaborative efforts and partnerships are effective structures for change. 'Counselor as expert' must be replaced with 'counselor as team member.' Change and/or growth occur through complementarity and supplementarity of roles.

My experiences working with people living in rural and remote areas have resulted in new learning and growth. Although the intention is not to

detail those experiences, it is to caution toward sensitivity to contextual forces. Such cautions will likely inspire new models of career counseling that will address the needs of rural clients.

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CHAPTER 4

TOWARDS BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE: A FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Theories are designed to help us understand events/phenomena. Psychological theories attempt to describe and explain where, when, and how behavior occurs. Using such theories, we should be able to predict various aspects of human behavior. It follows, then, that career development theories ought to describe, explain, or predict vocational behavior. The apparent logic may break down, however, after an examination of some operative assumptions. For example, assuming universality of behavior uses a reductionistic framework and may be too simplistic.

Savickas and Walsh (1996), in their scholarly and timely *Handbook of Career Counseling Theory and Practice,* have informed and enlightened the reader about the schism between theory and practice. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to examine some of these viewpoints.

Young and Valach (1996) pointed out that "theories are developed, empirically tested and refined, and then applied to practice" (p. 361). Savickas (1994) noted that "the meaning of theory changes as it is used" (p. 240). Young and Valach added their support for Savickas's point. Accordingly, they described career as

> a "practice" construct in that it addresses how people construct and resolve problems in their daily lives. It is not primarily a theoretical construct. As a "practice" construct, career does not have a precise meaning; rather, as most counsellors know, it is used in meaningful ways, it is given meaning, and it creates meaning. (p. 362)

Further, Chartrand (1996), commenting on the process of theory design and implementation, noted that "practitioners do not draw directly upon the

output from theorists and researchers in their practice" (p. 386). Her observation is that practitioners adapt, modify, and create their own frameworks.

The importance of practice-to-theory design is critical. Yet, as Collin (1996) noted in supporting both Harmon (1994) and Savickas (1994), "researchers have typically exerted more influence on practitioners than vice versa" (p. 393).

Interestingly, Chartrand (1996) emphatically stated that counselors "do not need separate theories of career development and career counseling. They need to develop career counseling models that integrate theories of vocational development and adjustment with knowledge of counseling process. Counselors need theory-practice transaction" (p. 123). Parenthetically, Chartrand differentiated a theory from a model: "The former is heuristic, judged by the canons of science, that typically explains an unfolding process, whereas the latter is a descriptive guide, open for change, and is judged by pragmatic outcomes" (p. 121).

Chartrand (1996) is not alone is believing that theory and practice must be integrated (Savickas & Walsh, 1996). I agree but underscore the magnitude and enormity of the task at hand. It is, however, a challenge that must be met, and promptly.

Many of the scholars in Savickas and Walsh's (1996) book suggested strategies and advice for how this integration should take place. Herr (1996b) indicated that it was being done in the case of Super, Holland, and Krumboltz, among others. Collin (1996) perhaps was more provocative and blunt in her proposed solution. She called for a "reversal in the traditional relationships between career theorists, researchers, and counselors" (p. 377). Moreover, she criticized her colleagues for not going far enough in

decreasing the gap between theory and practice. Collin's advice was to "break the present loop, to reverse the flow and convert" what she referred to as "a vicious circle" to a more "virtuous circle" of relationships between theorists and practitioners. Specifically, she wrote:

> The traditional processes of research and theorying make researchers/theorists generally too distant from the action. . . . The virtuous circle sees the practitioner researching in the practice situation, the researcher/theorist learning from and with the practitioner/researcher, who is learning from and with the client. (p. 394)

Undoubtedly, there was considerable support among the scholars in Savickas and Walsh's (1996) book for the integration of theory and practice. Collin's (1996) prophecy was that "practice will become praxis for all" (p. 396). Savickas and Walsh (1996) encouraged the continued debate on the integration of practice and theory. It is this spirit of continued debate that spurred me to undertake this daunting task. I concur with Collin's thesis and advocate for the articulation of theory in contextual models for practice.

In the remainder of this paper I will (a) propose a framework for the study of career development, (b) present a brief discussion of the elements and/or issues for inclusion, and (c) reflect on the interdependence of career development theory and practice and social policy.

Self-in-Context: A Framework for Career Counseling Practice

After my years of research in the theory and practice of career counseling, I am proposing a framework for the practice of career counseling that may be summarized as a self-in-context approach. This section will begin with an examination of the literature on the understanding and growth of the self. This will follow with an exploration of the self-in-relation to

culture. The final subsection will describe the need for career counseling to address social policy issues.

The Self

The role of self-concept in career development has been a subject for considerable debate and research (e.g., Betz, 1992, 1994; Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987, 1993; Gottfredson, 1981, 1985; Hackett, 1985; Hackett & Betz, 1981; Osipow, 1983, 1990; Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996; Super, 1953, 1963, 1990). Much of the research has focused on self-esteem and self-efficacy.

Peavy (1996) described changes that have occurred in our knowledge of self. Originally, the self was conceived as a stable, stationary construct, comprised of measurable traits and factors: "This 'new' self is a reflexive project consisting mainly in the sustaining of coherent, yet constantly revised, biographical narratives taking place in the context of multiple choices of lifestyle from a diversity of options and constraints" (p. 8). From a constructivist perspective, the self is "constituted by self-organizing processes, is purposeful and proactive" (p. 10). This interpretation of self has wide potential application in career counseling.

Super (1963, 1990) articulated a multifaceted construct of self with a delineation of 13 metadimensions, such as self-esteem, clarity, certainty, stability, and realism. For some reason, though, as both Osipow (1983) and Betz (1994) observed, research on Super's self-concept construct has not been as prevalent as other aspects of his approach. Problems centered on the operationalization and conceptualization because of the "definitional breadth and nondefinitional specificity" (Betz, 1994, p. 33).

Voluminous work on the self in the social psychology field overshadows research done in career development. Prolific scholars in this field include Markus (1990); Markus and Kitayama (1991, 1994); Roberts (1992); Marsh (1993); Cross and Markus (1990); Josephs, Markus, and Tafarodi (1992); Oyserman and Markus (1990); Oyserman and Saltz (1993); Ruvolo and Markus (1992); and Harter, Whitesell, and Kowalski (1992).

This social psychology literature has yielded a proliferation of research on the self. Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton (1976; cited in Marsh, 1993, p. 842) broadly defined *self-concept* as a person's self-perceptions, formed through experience with and interpretations of one's environment. This self-concept is influenced by evaluations from significant others, reinforcements, and attributions for one's own behavior and accomplishments. In essence, this is a multidimensional, hierarchical construct that becomes increasingly multifaceted with age. Both Marsh (1993) and Shavelson et al. (1976) conducted studies on self-concept, dividing it into academic—school subjects (e.g., mathematics, English, science)—and nonacademic—social, emotional, and physical.

The notion of self-concept as a monolithic or global entity has been retired. In contrast, a dynamic, proactive, self-representational construct characterized the work of Markus and Kitayama (1991, 1992, 1994) and Oyserman and Markus (1990). Using a broad brush to sketch the numerous findings of this field, an effort to summarize core findings will be made.

Markus (1990) described *self-schemas* as "structures, multifaceted, which play a critical role in organizing all aspects of behavior" (p. 242). In describing the emerging view of self, each person is

> hypothesized to hold a diverse array of representations about the self—the good me, the bad me, the not me, the actual me, the ideal me, the ought me, the possible me, and the shared me (i.e.,

> me-in-relation-to-my-mother; me-in-relation-to-my spouse). . . . Only some will become the focal point for the individual and receive a high degree of cognitive, affective, or somatic elaboration. These self-schemas will dominate consciousness, and perhaps unconsciousness, and that can be considered the 'core' self. (p. 242)

Significant empirical insights and theoretical suggestions have been made in this literature. The notion of *possible selves* or *future selves* is one such example. Possible selves are conceptualized as the "elements of the self-concept that represent the individual's goals, motives, fears, and anxieties. They give precise self-relevant form, meaning, and direction to these dynamics" (Oyserman & Markus, 1990, p. 112). Possible selves are linked to motivation levels for the individual. They energize or de-energize the person; they are selves to be approached or avoided. Markus and Nurius (1986) argued that the motivation to carry out all but the most routine and habitual actions depends on the creation of possible selves. Balancing the feared possible selves against the expected or desired possible selves is a challenge for the individual.

The studies on this construct have been numerous but reflect their wide applicability to groups of clients. The list includes clients with eating disorders, depression, phobias, and other clinical problems. Young children, adolescents, young adults, delinquents, and retirees have participated in these studies (see Markus, 1990, for others).

Ruvolo and Markus (1992) elaborated on the significance of "possible self":

> The efficient performance of almost any task, whether relatively mundane, such as choosing a shirt in the morning, or more complex, such as selecting a career, requires the construction of the possible self that carries out the action, completes the task, or masters the difficulty. These thoughts, images, or senses of one's self in the requisite end-states, and in the intervening states, are motivational resources that can both organize and energize a person's future behavior. (p. 97)

In essence, there has been a confluence of research that has taken our knowledge of the self to more flexible, varied, fluid dimensions. For example, Gergen (1991; cited in Blustein and Noumair, 1996, p. 147) described the self as constructed and reconstructed in multiple contexts. For Gergen, relationships make possible the concept of the self: "We appear to stand alone, but we are manifestations of relatedness" (p. 435). As well, Markus and Kitayama (1991) differentiated between the "independent" self and the "interdependent" self: the former as separate from others, and the latter as interconnected to others within the social context.

Blustein and Noumair (1996) advanced a definition of identity that varies across cultures and time frames. Many questions arise as to how culture is internalized into one's identity and the relation of the self within that context. In the next section a synopsis of select literature on culture and the self-in-relation will be presented.

Culture: Self-in-Relation

Many questions arise as to how culture influences the self and one's identity. The literature is still scant, however, in shedding enlightenment. Blustein and Noumair (1996) pointed to the "inherent difficulty in understanding an individual's intrapsychic organization and intrapersonal experience without an explicit focus on the cultural context" (p. 436). Further, they advanced the social constructionist argument that the "meaning of the self and identity is defined and also constrained by social, political, and historical forces" (p. 437). They were quick to point out, however, that this does not necessarily mean that the self or identity is "totally devoid of internal structure, coherence, or meaning" (p. 437).

In this section select themes on culture will be examined, followed by a discussion on self-in-relation.

There is wide consensus that cultural variables such as individualism and collectivism mediate vocational behavior (e.g., Fouad, 1993; Fouad & Arbona, 1994; Hartung, Speight, & Lewis, 1996; Leong, 1993; Leong & Leung, 1994; Swanson & Bowan, 1994). Expectations, aspirations, and values differ within and among cultural groups. Tinsley (1994) described the commonality of values and experiences, but emphasized many differences between individuals.

Anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists differ among and between each other on the definition of culture. Triandis (1996) articulated this controversy surrounding the acceptance of a common definition:

> It has been defined as the human-made part of the environment, and thus it can be distinguished into objective culture (e.g., tools or roads) and subjective culture (e.g., categorizations, beliefs, attitudes, norms, role definitions, or values). It has been defined as a complex schedule of reinforcements, as being to humans what a program is to a computer. Some have emphasized shared behaviors, cognitive systems, or meanings; . . . others have argued it is a construct in the mind of the investigator. Other definitions have stressed that culture is to society what memory is to individuals, . . . consisting of shared elements of subjective culture and behavioral patterns found among those who speak a particular language dialect, in a particular region, during a specific historic period. (p. 408).

Triandis (1996) adopted the "shared" elements that provide the standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, communicating, and acting among those who share a language, a historic period, and a geographic location. Of course, according to Triandis, these shared elements are transmitted from generation to generation with modifications. They include "unexamined assumptions and standard operating procedures that reflect 'what has worked' at one point in the history of a cultural group" (p. 408). In his research, Triandis described *cultural syndromes* as

> a pattern of shared attitudes, beliefs, categorizations, self-definitions, norms, role definitions, and values that is organized around a theme that can be identified among those who speak a particular language during a specific historic period, and in a definable geographic region. (p. 408)

There are countless examples of cultural syndromes that characterize a society or a culture: (a) the "tightness" or "looseness" of the norms, for instance, which differs across societies; (b) the "complexity" versus "simplicity" of roles and role definitions (hunter/gatherer versus information society occupations); (c) "active" versus "passive" thought patterns (e.g., competitive/active versus cooperative/reflective); and (d) vertical versus horizontal relationships (hierarchical/authoritarian versus egalitarian). Triandis (1996) reported that tight, passive, simple cultures are likely to be more collectivist, whereas loose, active, complex cultures are likely to be more individualistic.

The literature has been rich with studies on the individualistic model of self and its ability to account for social behavior. A scrutiny of American research in social psychology revealed an analysis of social behavior with a distinctly asocial model of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). The general thrust of European-American literature portrayed people as "independent, bounded, autonomous entities who must strive to remain unshackled by their ties to various groups and collectives" (p. 568). Triandis's (1996) analyses of the self in cultures other than European-American revealed some very different perspectives on the relation between the self and the collective. Japanese culture, for example, emphasizes "the interdependence of the individual with the collective rather than independence from it" (p. 569). The following anecdotes, reported in Markus and Kitayama (1991), reflect the differences in the American and Japanese constructs of the self and others, and the interdependence of the two:

> In America, "The squeaky wheel gets the grease." In Japan, "the nail that stands out gets pounded down." American parents who are trying to induce their children to eat their suppers say, "Think of the starving kids in Ethiopia, and appreciate how lucky you are to be different from them." Japanese parents are likely to say, "Think about the farmer who worked so hard to produce this rice for you; if you don't eat it, he will feel bad, for his efforts will be in vain." A small Texas corporation seeking to elevate productivity told its employees to look in the mirror and say "I am beautiful" 100 times before coming to work each day. Employees of a Japanese supermarket that was recently opened in New Jersey were instructed to begin the day by holding hands and telling each other that "he" or "she is beautiful." (p. 224)

In essence, then, the American examples "stress attending to self, appreciation of one's difference from others, and the importance of asserting the self," whereas the Japanese examples emphasize "attending to and fitting in with others and the importance of harmonious interdependence with them" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 224). The relevance to what we do in our everyday lives, how we think, and how we relate to others may thus be a consequence of this cultural construct of self. The independent or the interdependent view of self differs across cultures.

Following this thesis, Triandis (1996) wrote on *collectivism:*

> In some cultures the self is defined as an aspect of a collective (e.g., family or tribe); personal goals are subordinated to the goals of this collective; norms, duties, and obligations regulate most social behavior; taking into account the needs of others in the regulation of social behavior is widely practiced. (p. 409)

Further, he addressed *individualism:*

> The self is defined as independent and autonomous from collectives. Personal goals are given priority over the goals of collectives. Social behavior is shaped by attitudes and perceived enjoyable consequences. The perceived profit and loss from a social behavior is computed, and when a relationship is too costly it is dropped. . . . This construct is linked to the ideology of modernity. (p. 409)

It is interesting to note that collectivism is the norm in traditional cultures and in many cultures of Africa and Asia. Individualism, on the other hand, is prevalent in Western Europe and North America.

The implications of this rich and fascinating research (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994; Triandis, 1996) for understanding variables within and among cultural groups are promising. The implications for the field of career development are even more so. The meaning of the self (individual versus collective), the structure of goals (individual versus group), the function of behavior (norms versus attitudes), and the recognition of needs (individual versus group) are just some of the topics to be considered.

In the interest of brevity, perhaps one possible implication is in order. Triandis (1996) has reported research conducted in various societies of the world (e.g., Asian, European, African, North American, Brazilian). Typically, when the culture is heterogeneous, looseness is necessary to avoid friction; whereas when a culture is homogeneous, tightness is possible in imposing norms and expectations. When survival is the preoccupation, as in many agricultural societies, norms will be clear and imposed. When people live separated by large distances, "they tolerate many deviations from the norm" (p. 412). Thus, individualism is high in affluent societies and collectivism is high in poorer societies. In essence, several factors contribute to individualism, such as high social class, migration, social mobility, and exposure to mass media (Triandis, 1996).

Blustein and Noumair (1996) carried on an interesting discourse on how changes in the labor market and the workplace resulted in uncertainty in career development. They described clients who faced the difficulty of developing new careers in adulthood as their skills became outmoded. Consequently,

> we are currently witnessing parallel changes in the volatile economic milieu and in the context-based conceptualizations of the self and identity. . . . These changes are fostering a view of the self and identity that is far more relativistic and culturally bound. (p. 437)

No doubt, these particular circumstances described by Blustein and Noumair give credence to Triandis' (1996) thesis on the collectivism apparent in societies when crises arise. My experiences in Newfoundland and Labrador were indicative of this thesis. The implications of these changes (in the labor market) and the shifting views of self and identity have an analogous impact on career development (Blustein & Noumair, 1996). These contextual changes must be reflected in the role of counselors today. My experiences in Newfoundland and Labrador validate the need for social policy advocacy. A discussion of this role will follow in the next section.

Career Counseling and Social Policy

The transition from an economy based on labor and energy to one based on information and knowledge has been the focus of many writers, economists, and researchers (Herr, 1993, 1995a, 1996a, 1996b; Reich, 1991; Rifkin, 1995; Toffler, 1990; Watts, 1996). Not everyone is nearly as pessimistic as Rifkin, who wrote:

> Human labor is being systematically eliminated from the production process. Within less than a century "mass" work in the market sector is likely to be phased out in virtually all of the industrialized nations of the world. A new generation of sophisticated information and communication technologies is being hurried into a variety of work situations. Intelligent machines are replacing human beings in countless tasks, forcing millions of blue and white collar workers into unemployment lines, or worse still, breadlines. (p. 3)

Practices and principles underlying economic systems have been outmoded and are being replaced by new, different systems. The market value of labor is diminishing, according to Rifkin (1995), and will continue to do so. Watts (1994) reminded us that our "current models of work are creatures of the Industrial Revolution" (p. 3). Employment position has been the prime indicator of social class. Watts observed:

> In many ways, employment has come to represent the modern form of the social contract, through which individuals agree to devote some of their time and energies to wider social purposes, in return for which they are given social status and identity, plus access to income which they are free to use in their own time in whatever way they choose. (p. 5)

In light of the previous statements, it is no wonder that unemployment is perceived as negative, even devastating, to individuals. Again, Rifkin (1995) described what is happening as we head into the millennium:

> The death of the global labor force is being internalized by millions of workers who experience their own individual deaths, daily, at the hands of profit-driven employers and a disinterested government. They are the ones who are waiting for pink slips, being forced to work part-time at reduced pay, or being pushed onto the welfare rolls. With each new indignity their confidence and self-esteem suffer another blow. They become expendable, then irrelevant, and finally invisible in the new high-tech world of global commerce and trade. (p. 197)

Many modern theorists and writers (Herr, 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Reich, 1991; Rifkin, 1995; Watts, 1994) addressed the so-called economic and social "revolution" within society. All acknowledged the growing gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots," the skilled and the unskilled, the employed and the unemployed. Perhaps even Rifkin's description aptly describes the dichotomy:

> Our corporate leaders and mainstream economists tell us that the rising unemployment figures represent short-term adjustments to powerful market-driven forces that are speeding the economy into the third Industrial Revolution. They hold out the promise of an exciting new world of high-technology, automated production, booming global commerce, and unprecedented material abundance. . . . For others, the triumph of technology appears more a bitter curse, a requiem for those who will be made redundant by the new global economy and the breathtaking advances in automation that are eliminating so many human beings from the economic process. For them the future is filled with dread, not hope, with growing rage, not anticipation. They sense the world is passing them by, and feel increasingly powerless to intervene on their own behalf, to demand their rightful inclusion in the new high-technological global order. They are the outcasts of the global village. (p. 216)

However we view what is happening in the work structure, we are accepting higher rates of unemployment as a given. Watts (1994) reminded us:

> Unemployment does not define anything; it defines the absence of something. It describes a situation in which we continue to regard employment as the chief source of status, identity, and income, and then deny access to it to millions of people. (p. 7)

The direct and indirect implications for career counseling are many and diverse. For example, an obvious implication centers around the questioning of core constructs such as commitment within an occupation. Many traditional beliefs about choosing an occupation are becoming invalid. Nevertheless, there are larger, more "big-picture" ramifications for the field of career counseling.

In a recent special edition of *The Career Development Quarterly,* Watts (1996), Herr (1996a), and Lent (1996) focussed on the relationship between career counseling and social policy. Herr wrote:

> Regardless of the national contexts in which people live and make choices, in large measure, the personal questions for which people seek help from career guidance specialists are really functions of how they view current social or occupational expectations and opportunities for personal choice. The resulting anxieties, information deficits, or indecisiveness associated with personal experience in clarifying and acting on expectations and opportunities concern career counselors and related professionals. (p. 9)

Consequently, career counselors have had to deal with a range of issues that address

> initial exploration, educational course content, career planning, choice of or commitment to a particular option, preparation for and transition from school to employment, the induction into and adjustment to a particular job and work place, social conflicts in the work place, underemployment, unemployment, mid-career change, and pretirement. (p. 9)

It seems that career counselors have typically addressed the problems or issues as more intrapsychic phenomena. The social context, or culture,

have often been ignored or given minor attention. But, as Herr (1995) noted, "the social context is not a unitary phenomenon" (p. 1). Moreover, the importance of the problems

> is amplified by (a) how a particular social context, or culture, identifies or interprets each of these issues; (b) the reasons for these issues; (c) the support mechanisms available to address these issues; or (d) the social rhetoric that defines the causes. For example, in Eastern Europe under communist control, virtually all persons had a job, even if it was of dubious quality and with little chance for advancement. During the 40 years or so of Soviet occupation, the official rhetoric was that if you were unemployed, you were shiftless, a misfit, and an outcast. Suddenly, with the collapse of Soviet domination (and other changes in Europe) thousands became unemployed. The previous social rhetoric about why people were unemployed had to be reconstructed; support systems and safety nets had to be put in place." (pp. 9-10)

Undoubtedly, significant shifts must take place in the minds of people who define success, achievement, and even personal satisfaction. Rifkin (1995) noted that redefining the role of the individual in a society absent of mass formal work is perhaps the seminal issue of the future. World views will have to change to reflect the social and economic realities. Self-worth and rate of productivity have always been linked. However, as Rifkin (1995) and Reich (1991) observed, the notions of "hard-core" unemployed and discouraged workers must give rise to reinvented measures of productivity. Watts (1994) wrote: "In the end every society is held together by activities for which payment is neither given nor expected—by activities motivated not by acquisitiveness but by love, caring, creativity, curiosity, energy" (p. 8).

Watts (1994) further observed that women have traditionally performed roles such as child care and elder care that are critical to the quality of life within communities: "From the viewpoint of social status, and of access to power and wealth, these roles are demeaning and entrapping; from the

viewpoint of social value and moral quality, they are arguably superior to much if not all paid work" (p. 8).

The compassionate society concept can prevail during turbulent times, or it can falter as definitions of productivity and worth, both for the individual and for the collective, change. The interdependence of social policy and career counseling, as noted by Herr (1996a), is apparent.

Oftentimes career counselors are preoccupied with the important but narrower issues of mandate and fulfillment of institutional goals. Social policy questions may not loom as significant in the day-to-day happenings. Herr (1996a) wrote:

> Although career theorists and counselors frequently focus on the costs to the individual in self-esteem or security or wages as a result of unemployment, disability, work adjustment problems, or poor job fit, policy makers look at the social costs of these phenomena and seek ways to alleviate them. . . . The specific content and foci of such legislation is, in general, a reaction to a complex set of contextual realities confronting a nation at a particular historical moment. (p. 12)

Counselor as advocate, not only for the individual, but also for collective reform, may require a more active proactive, participatory role. Certainly, as contexts change and needs vary, voices for those changes must be reflected in the social policy of the time. If full employment is not possible, what should be acceptable standard for employment? In areas of mass unemployment (e.g., the Newfoundland fisheries), what shape does retraining or upgrading take? Who delivers the training? What about the social safety net, and how should help be distributed? More specifically, what are the competencies required by career counselors as the context changes over time? What role should career theorists and counselors play in the shaping of society? Or is this a valid role at all? Watts (1994) described the measure of an ideal or acceptable society as "a society we would

choose to live in if we did not know what position within it we ourselves would occupy" (p. 9).

All in all, there is a need for a broadened, more diverse role for career theorists/researchers and counselors. In the future they must attend to the big-picture forces while continuing to add to the refinement of specific theories and practice. Lent (1996) contended that we can meet the future demands through "reusing, recycling, and repairing" (p. 59), whereas others such as Richardson (1993, 1996) advocated new theories, or at least minitheories. I would suggest that we need both. Certainly, we need to reshape and redesign old theories/approaches, but we also need new models or frameworks for practice.

Universities and colleges typically house theorists and researchers, but it is also important to expand the mandate beyond institutional parameters. Mass unemployment or the effects of the technology revolution are worthwhile topics for research. McCall (1996) criticized universities for the narrowly defined mold into which they have fallen: "This has resulted in a crisis of purpose . . . and deprives society of the substantial intellectual services that these universities could provide" (p. 379). Although universities exist to contribute to the knowledge base, a wider, more diversified definition of that knowledge base does include reality-based problems such as those discussed here. Collaborative efforts and partnerships between the various players—theorists/researchers, counselors, and agencies—will result in a richer, more diverse, and more exciting society. Expanding our horizons to include research and development on group and community models and to investigate effective delivery modalities (e.g., distance and interactive computerized models) will only ensure continued growth and success within the profession. A summary of the

major tenets of the self-in-context framework will be provided in the final section.

A Summary of Major Tenets of the Self-in-Context Framework

Career development has progressed over the last 50 years. It is still being shaped by the contexts across space and time. A proliferation of research and development in the field has paved the way for the future to blossom. Clearly, I foresee a proactive, dynamic, and exciting role for both theorists/researchers and practitioners.

I support the recommendations of the leaders in the field (Chartrand, 1996; Collin, 1996; Herr, 1996a, 1996b; Savickas & Walsh, 1996) that we need to find ways to integrate theory and practice. I believe, with them, that the way to do this is to work with practitioners (a) to find new ways to translate existent theories into practice; (b) to develop differential models of practice that are contextualized to meet the needs of the disparate target groups; (c) to explore partnerships and collaborative efforts to work together; (d) creatively to seek new and innovative means to understand, reach, and assist client groups (e.g., exploiting the new technologies); and (e) to work together to influence the shaping of social policies for the improvement of the quality of life for clients.

In an effort to recount key learnings from both the literature and from my practical experiences in Newfoundland and Labrador, I offer the following synopsis, as tenets, of the self-in-context approach.

1. The meaning of work has changed and will continue to change. The meaning of work in the 21st century has more to do with self-development as opposed to the 20th-century work ethic (Savickas, 1993). Career counseling must redefine and reposition itself within the new

meanings. Building on Young and Valach's (1996) notion of action theory, career is contextualized, grounded in one's experience, discursive, and proactive. Career counseling is a "dialogic action" (Young & Valach, 1996, p. 371). The emphasis is on language and discourse. Career counseling is context dependent, relativistic, and perspectival (Young & Valach, 1996). All aspects of development (i.e., social, physical, and cultural) must be emphasized.

2. The context is complex and includes multiple individuals and groups in society. The individuals who are marginalized for some reason need to move to center space in career-development research and practice.

3. There must be a holistic concept of career. Career should not be viewed merely in relation to occupations in one's life. Rather, the personal and the so-called old "vocational" dimensions ought to be merged or "put together again." This tenet builds on the research of people such as Betz (1992), Richardson (1993, 1996), and Collin (1996). The false dichotomy that existed, and still exists, should be questioned. Holistic career development emphasizes meaning making.

4. Career counseling in a holistic framework involves both an analysis and a synthesis. Even though the various components (e.g., interests, values, fears, hopes, expectations) may have to be isolated at times, counseling helps in the "putting together" or synthesis of the disparate elements. The career development field has well-established theory and interventions as well as instrumentation to assist counsellors in the measurement of the various traits and characteristics. There will always be a need for these approaches. However, we need to continue to develop holistic interventions (e.g., narratives and life histories) to assist clients of the 21st century with their different concerns. Building on Gelatt's (1989,

1995) model, for example, one could focus research on the imagining and visualizing techniques. Future selves and possible selves (Markus & Kitayama, 1994; Markus & Nurius, 1986) are also pertinent constructs that utilize more holistic concepts of self and the self-in-relation. Again, the key is to develop career counseling models or frameworks for practice rather than inventing new theories.

5. Self is dynamic, multidimensional, and reflexive (Peavy, 1996). Cognitions and external forces help to shape the multiple dimensions of self. Self in context refers to the interdependent structures of the self and the context. This is a complex and complicated process. Two metaphors may help to explain the relationship. First, the self is a tree growing where the soil, the atmosphere, and the elements are the context; or second, the self in context is like a symphony where all the aspects of the self perform in balance with the forces of the environment. In this second metaphor the reciprocity of the relationship between self and environment is crucial. The self shapes and is shaped by the context.

6. The role of the counselor must be expanded to include advocate, facilitator, and innovator. Within universities and colleges, counselor training programs must change to reflect those changes. Peavy (1993) suggested that counselor-educator programs should focus on "reflection-based, transformative curricula which recognize that all knowledge is constructed and therefore is contextual, emotional, intersubjective, passionate, rational, evolving, relational, ethical, and values-based" (p. 134). Research within universities must become more socially responsive. Content, theory, and methodology ought to include, but not be restricted to, social problems (e.g., massive unemployment). Continuous learning and reflective practice should characterize career counselling programs. Leong (1996) and Meara

(1996) criticized researchers for getting too far from our data and for overgeneralizing about the implications of our research to diverse, complex groups. Collaborative efforts and partnerships must be fostered and nurtured for effective research and development work.

7. Different delivery modalities must be exploited in the best interests of the clients. Counseling theory and research must expand its parameters to include innovative techniques and practice. The interests of the clients will be better served. Also, expanding horizons and "breaking new ground" will help parachute the field into the 21st century.

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